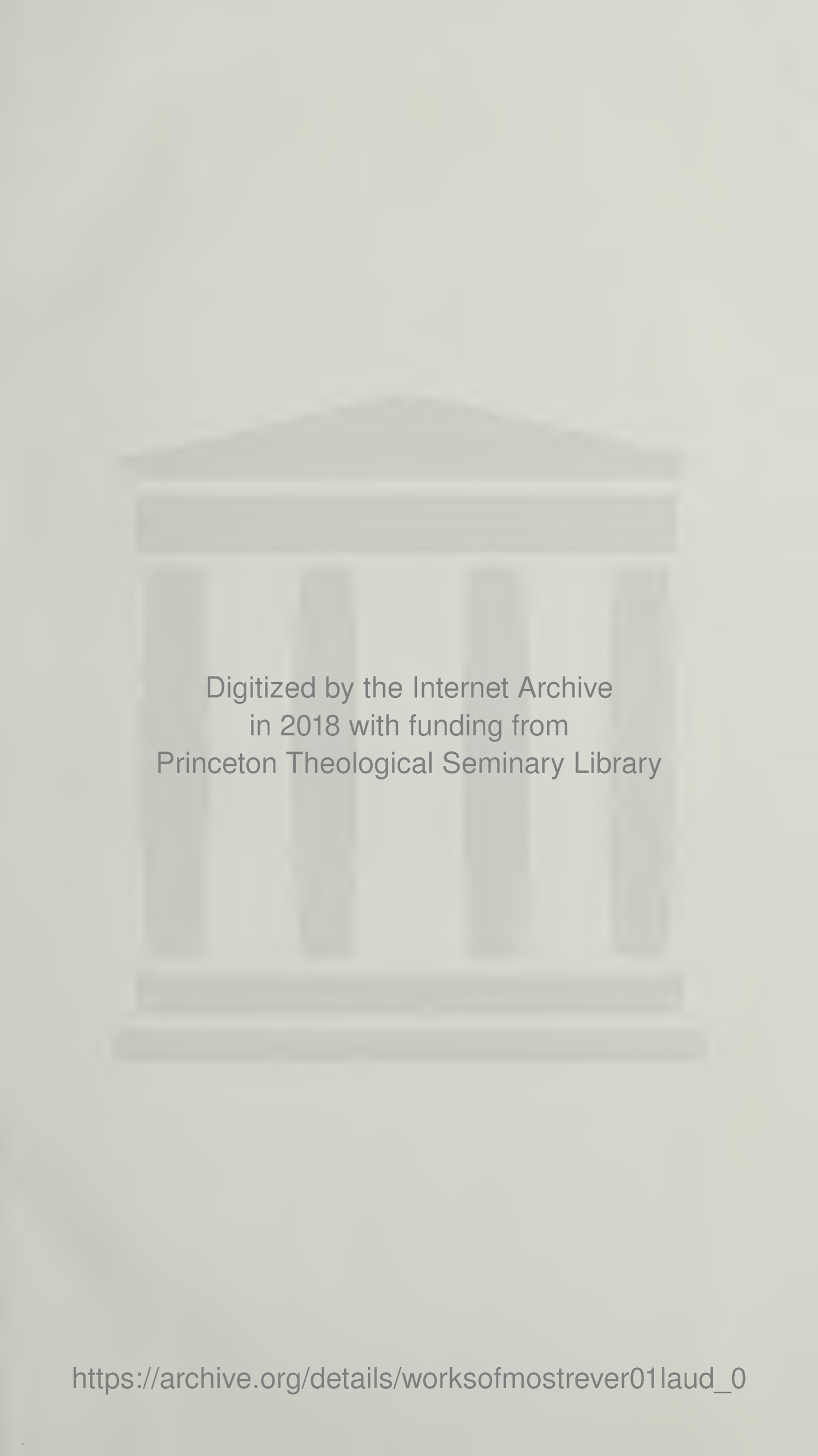
BX 5037 .L3 1847 v.1
Laud, William, 1573-1645.
The works of the Most
Reverend Father in God,

V.1


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2018 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library

https://archive.org/details/worksofmostrever01laud_0

THE WORKS

OF

ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

LONDON:
R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL.

Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology

THE

WORKS

OF THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

WILLIAM LAUD, D. D.

SOMETIME LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

VOL. I.

SERMONS.

OXFORD:

JOHN HENRY PARKER.

MDCCCXLVII.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

LITTLE seems needed by way of introduction to the present volume. The printed Sermons of Archbishop Laud consist only of seven, *i.e.* six preached on several public occasions, and printed by command of King James I., and King Charles I., respectively, before whom they were delivered; and one, preached also on one of the State Anniversaries, at St. Paul's Cross. They were all published singly, in 4to, the first six as soon as they were delivered, and the last shortly after the Archbishop's death, and at an interval of fourteen years after it was preached.

In their separate form, these seven Sermons are extremely scarce: and of the last, only a single copy, that in the British Museum, has come to the present Editor's knowledge. The present edition has been prepared entirely from the original quartos. Of these, copies known to the present Editor, are as follows:—

SERMON 1.—In the Bodleian—in Queen's College—in Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

2.—In the Bodleian—in Christ Church—in the Cambridge University Library.

3.—In the Bodleian—in the Cambridge University Library.

4.—In the Bodleian—in Christ Church.

5.—In the Bodleian—in Christ Church.

6.—In the Bodleian—in Christ Church.

7. In the British Museum.

Nicholls (Progresses of King James, &c. vol. iii. p. 1108,) speaks of Sermon I. as preserved also in the British Museum: but it is not catalogued, even if it now exists. He also mentions a copy of it on vellum, sold at Sir Edward Synge's sale, at Gloucester, Sept. 1, 1825.

In 1651, the seven Sermons were collected, and reprinted in 12mo. This edition, as may be inferred from the misplacing of Sermons III. and IV., does not seem to have had the advantage of any editor: and it is unsightly in form, and more incorrect than the single quartos. The seventh Sermon has, in the reprint, an hiatus of a whole page (see p. 196 of the present edition). This edition was reprinted *verbatim*, in 8vo, by the Rev. J. W. Hatherell, M.A. of Brazennose College, Oxford, in 1829.

In the present edition, as in all the other works of the Anglo-Catholic Library, the orthography and punctuation have been modernized: but the variations between the first quartos and the collected edition, except in the case of mere typographical mistakes, have been always noticed, and in the very few instances where any deviation from the original text has been ventured upon, the original reading has been also preserved and bracketed, either in the margin, or in the text. The references have been verified and corrected, and the passages given in full; and all additions of the present Editor have been marked thus [ ]. With regard to the references themselves, they were often very incorrect, and sometimes only the name of the authority was given by Laud; but, in every instance, except one, it is believed that the passage to which the author intended to refer has been recovered. The Greek Fathers, according to the practice of the age, were generally quoted by Laud through the Latin translation; but it seemed advisable in all cases to

give them in the original. In some instances, however, this looseness of reference will account for a considerable variation, even in sense, between the reference and the passage itself. These observations are meant to apply, not only to the present volume, but to those which will follow it.

It seems scarcely fitting for one in the position of the present Editor to adopt a critical tone towards Archbishop Laud: a single observation, therefore, may be deemed sufficient, or even more than sufficient, with reference to the Sermons themselves. Not only in more important particulars, but in style, as a contemporary has noticed (see Introductory Note to Sermon I.), Laud seems to have been an imitator, or follower, of Bishop Andrewes: and in some particulars the resemblance holds. The seven Sermons contain few doctrinal allusions, with the exception of an important discussion on the future state of the Jews in Sermon I.; and they are chiefly remarkable as expositions *ad populum* of Laud's high views of the regal office. Thus they show him as a statesman more than as a theologian, and their value is rather in relation to the political than to the ecclesiastical or controversial history of the Caroline era. Public, and especially State, occasions, almost necessitate a stiff and artificial manner, as well as a confined range of thought; and it is much to be regretted that none of the many Sermons which Laud preached in the ordinary course of his ministry have been preserved. That he was a theologian, and had read extensively and accurately, is proved both by his "Conference" and "Defence." That he was a frequent preacher his Diary abundantly testifies: and that his religion was eminently deep and earnest, we know from his published Devotions, as well as from his patient endurance

of persecution and suffering. But neither as a divine, nor in other respects, must his character be altogether measured by these Sermons.

It may possibly lead to further inquiry if the present Editor states that a rumour has reached him that the Sermon preached by Laud before King Charles at Holyrood, soon after his Scotch Coronation, on June 30, 1633, (see Diary,) was printed in Edinburgh, in 4to, and is still extant. Every inquiry has been made about this alleged Sermon, but, hitherto, without success.

The present volume will be followed by the "Conference with Fisher," with the references verified, and passages given at length; by his "History of his Chancellorship of Oxford;" his "Troubles," and "Defence;" his "Devotions," &c.; together with a collection of his "Letters, and other Documents." To this last, and, in some respects, most important, department of the collected works of Archbishop Laud, the present Editor is not without hopes that he may be enabled to add some papers, hitherto unpublished. And with regard to the desirableness of collecting and arranging the "Letters" more particularly, it must be borne in mind that even such as are at present printed exist not only in scattered, but some in rare or not generally accessible publications.

WILLIAM SCOTT.

Hoxton,
May 29, 1847.

SEVEN

SERMONS

PREACHED

Upon severall occasions

BY

The Right Reverend

and Learned Father in God,

WILLIAM LAVD,

Late Arch-Bishop of

CANTERBURY, &c.

LONDON,
Printed for *R. Lowndes*, at the
White Lion in S. *Pauls* Churchyard.
MDCLI.

PROPERTY OF
PRINCETON
THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY.

CONTENTS.

THE several texts of Scripture on which the learned Author grounded the enlargement of his Meditations. [Edit. 1651.]

SERMON I.

[Preached before King James, at Wanstead, on Tuesday, the Nineteenth of June, A.D. 1621]

PSALM CXXII. 6, 7.

PAGE

Pray for the peace of Jerusalem; let them prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces . . . 1

SERMON II.

[Preached at White-Hall, on the Twenty-fourth of March, A.D. 1621—22]

PSALM XXI. 6, 7.

For Thou hast set him as blessings for ever: Thou hast made him glad with the joy of Thy countenance. Because the King trusteth in the Lord: and in the mercy of the Most High he shall not miscarry . 31

SERMON III.

[Preached at Westminster, on Monday, the Sixth of February, A.D. 1625—26.]

PSALM CXXII. 3—5.

Jerusalem is builded as a city, that is at unity in itself, (or compacted together.) For thither the tribes go up, even the tribes of the Lord, to the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord. For there are the seats (or the thrones) of judgment; even the thrones of the house of David 61

SERMON IV.

[Preached before King Charles, at White-Hall, on Sunday, the Nineteenth of June, A.D. 1625.]

PSALM lxxv. 2, 3.

PAGE

When I shall receive the congregation, (or, when I shall take a convenient time,) I will judge according unto right. The earth is dissolved (or, melted), and all the inhabitants thereof; I bear up the pillars of it . 91

SERMON V.

[Preached before King Charles, at White-Hall, on Wednesday, the Fifth July, A.D. 1626.]

PSALM lxxiv. 22.

Arise, O God, (plead, or) maintain Thine own cause; remember how the foolish man (reproacheth, or) blasphemeth Thee daily . . . 119

SERMON VI.

[Preached at Westminster, on Monday, the Seventeenth of March, A.D. 1628—29.]

EPHESIANS iv. 3.

Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace . 149

SERMON VII.

[Preached at St. Paul's Cross, on Sunday, the Twenty-seventh of March, A.D. 1631.]

PSALM lxxii. 1.

Give the King Thy judgments, O God, and Thy righteousness unto the King's Son 183

A

SERMON

PREACHED BEFORE HIS MAIESTY,

On Tvesday the nineteenth of Iune, at

Wansted. Anno Dom.

1621.

By D. LAVD Deane of Glocester, one
of his Maiesties Chaplaines
in ordinary.

Printed by commandement.

AT LONDON,
Imprinted by *F. K.* for *Matthew Lownes,* dwelling
in Pauls Church-yard, at the signe of
the Bishops head. 1621.

[The occasion of this first Sermon was the Birth-day of King James the First, (see p. 15,) marked as a red-letter day in the Prayer-book of 1604.

The extracts from Laud's Diary, preceding and following its delivery, may be here cited :—

"Anno 1621.—The King's gracious speech unto me, June 3 [Sunday], concerning my long service. He was pleased to say : He had given me nothing but [the deanery of] Gloucester, [November 1616,] which he well knew was a shell without a kernel.—June 29. His Majesty gave me the grant of the Bishopric of St. David's, being St. Peter's day."

There is no allusion to the preaching of this Sermon in the Diary: on Feb. 17, 1621-1622, this entry occurs :—"I preached at Westminster. All my former sermons are omitted." Laud had previously preached before the King: "his good friend and patron, Bishop Neile, then being of Rochester, had procured him a turn before the King at Theobald's, on the 17th of September, 1609; and by the power and favour of the same man, being then translated unto Lichfield, he was sworn one of His Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary on the third of November, anno 1611." (Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 59.)

This Sermon is noticed in a letter from Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, preserved in Nichols's Progresses of King James, vol. iii. p. 671, "Herewithal I send you a Sermon of Dr. Laud's on the King's Birth-day, *because it is after the manner of the Bp. of Winchester* [Andrewes]*'s preaching*, and because it somewhat touches the idle conceit of Serjeant Finch's book of 'The Calling of the Jews.'" (See p. 16.)

Wanstead was a hunting-seat, in the forest of Waltham. The estate, which first became a royal possession in the reign of Henry VIII., had passed from Dudley, Earl of Leicester, through various hands, to Charles Blount, Lord Montjoy, who was created Earl of Devonshire, and died in 1606. It was this nobleman who was married by Laud, then his chaplain, to the Lady Rich, in the year 1605, in this very chapel at Wanstead. The Earl had previously cohabited with Lady Rich, and had five children by her before she was divorced from her husband. This unhappy affair—"this accident at Wanstead," as Heylyn (p. 52) apologetically styles it,—disgraced the Earl with the King, and he died of grief before the end of the next year; and Laud's penitence for his error by keeping an annual fast on the Feast of S. Stephen, the day on which he celebrated this discreditable marriage, is well known. The chapel at Wanstead, therefore, must on the occasion of this sermon have suggested painful and humiliating recollections to the preacher. One of Ussher's sermons, preached before the King at Wanstead, is printed.—Morant (History of Essex) speaks of "the estate of Wanstead coming to the Crown again, but by what means we are not informed :" it escheated in 1606 on the death of the Earl of Devonshire without legitimate issue. (See Nichols's Progresses, &c. vol. ii. p. 154, and vol. iii. p. 483.) It was subsequently granted by James I. to Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who is said, by Camden, (Annals), "to have presented Wanstead to the King, after a splendid entertainment given there." In this case, it seems that King James, soon after, granted the estate to Sir H. Mildmay, Master of the Jewel Office (Nichols, iii. 553). Other accounts state, that he became possessed of it by purchase from Villiers; at any rate, Mildmay seems to have entertained the King there on one of his frequent and extensive Progresses, when this sermon was preached. By Mildmay, as one of the regicides, Wanstead was again forfeited to the Crown in King Charles the Second's time.]

PROPERTY OF
PRINCETON
THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY.

SERMON I.

PREACHED BEFORE HIS MAJESTY, ON TUESDAY, JUNE 19, AT WANSTEAD, A.D. 1621. [Ed. 1651.]

PSALM cxxii. 6, 7.

Pray for the peace of Jerusalem; let them prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces.

SERMON I.

THE ark of the Lord was brought out of the house of Obed-edom the Gittite, with music and great joy, into Jerusalem, and there placed. The learned are of opinion, that David composed this psalm, and delivered it to be sung at this solemnity. Before this, the ark was in Gibeah, a high place in the city Baalah of Judah, otherwise called Kirjath-jearim. But now the presence of it made the City of David, *domicilium religionis*, the house of religion, as well as *regni*, of the kingdom. It is *domus Dei*, the house of religion, God's house (ver. 1, and the last of this psalm). And it is the house of the kingdom too: for there is the seat of judgment, and there is the house of David. And it is fit, very fit it should be so;—the Court, and the great Temple of God's service together;—that God and the King may be neighbours:—that as God is always near to preserve the King, so the King might be near to serve God: and God and the King cannot meet in Jerusalem without a solemnity.

2 Kings [Sam.] vi. 17.

2 Kings [Sam.] vi. 2, 3.

Josh. xv. 9.

[Ps. cxxii.] 1, 9.

Ver. 5.

Now this psalm was not fitted by David for the people only, when the ark was brought to, and placed in, Jerusalem; but also for their coming at their solemn feasts to Jerusalem, to which they were bound thrice a year by the Law. For

Exod. xxiii. 17.

SERMON I.

then, some think, they sung this psalm, either in their journey as they came up; or else on the steps as they ascended[a] to the Temple. So the coming to the Temple was always with joy, and they were glad when the solemnity came. At this joy the psalm begins: "I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house of the Lord." Glad they were, but no vanity in the mirth. For as they went up with joy, ver. 1; so did they with prayer here at ver. 7;—and the prayer is for the peace of Jerusalem.

Ver. 1.

Ver. 7.

Why, but in David's time the temple was not built; and how then this psalm composed by him for this solemnity? Yes, well enough; (1.) for though the Temple was not then built, yet the Tabernacle was then up, according to which pattern the Temple was to be built. So all the service was there; and therefore the solemnity too. Beside, (2.) the eye of the prophet was clear, and saw things farther off than the present. For first, (1.) it is evident, *qui non videbat, prævidebat:* David that saw not the Temple built, foresaw that it was to be built by his son: and so fitted the psalm both to a present Tabernacle and a future Temple.

2 Kings [Sam.] vi. 17.

2 Kings [Sam.] vii. 13.

And it is not improbable, but that he saw farther; (2.) or if he did not, the Spirit of God did; and so fitted his pen, that the same psalm might serve the Jews at their return from Babylon, to re-edify the ruins of both City and Temple; for then the people assembled "as one man" to Jerusalem, and kept their wonted ceremonies.

Ezra iii. 1, 2.

Nay, I make no question but that he saw farther yet. (3.) For what should hinder the prophet, but that he might look quite through the Temple, which was but the figure, or shadow, and so see Christ, His Church, and Kingdom, at the end of it? So the psalm goes on for both Jew and Christian; Temple, and Church; that ye, as well as they, might "pray for the peace of Jerusalem," and that "they may prosper that love it."

The words contain two things; (I.) an exhortation both to princes and people, to "pray for the peace of Jerusalem;" (II.) and the prophet's own prayer for it, "Let them prosper that love thee: peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces."

[a] [This psalm is one of those called "Gradual" Psalms.]

SERMON I.

(I.) In the exhortation to both princes and people, that they "pray for the peace of Jerusalem," I shall observe three particulars. (1.) The body, for which he would have us careful; that is, "Jerusalem." (2.) The action by which we should express our love to it:—our care of it; that is, "prayer." (3.) And the blessing which our prayers should entreat for it; and that is, "peace."

(1.) First, then, here is the body, for which, and all the members of it, he would have them pray, and that is, Jerusalem. Now Jerusalem was at this time, as I told you, made *domus religionis et regni*, God's house, and the King's. And so it stands not here for the City and the State only, as many of the ancient name the City only, nor for the Temple and the

S. Hieron.[b] S. Basil.[c] Theod.[d] S. Hilar.[e] Arnob.[f]

[b] ["*Rogate quæ ad pacem sunt Jerusalem.* Interrogate quæ ad pacem pertinent civitatis hujus, et sequimini eam: ut per dilectionem pacis, fructuum consequamini æternæ beatitudinis. .... *Jerusalem quæ ædificatur ut civitas.* Adhuc non est expletum ædificium civitatis hujus: sed quotidie ædificatur de lapidibus vivis super fundamentum Apostolorum et Prophetarum, ab ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Jesu."—[Pseudo] S. Hieronym. Breviarium in Psalter. p. 459. Ed. Benedict. Paris, 1704.

Many of these citations seem to be taken from the Catena inserted in the Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria, which, with the ordinary marginal and interlineary glosses, embraces the postils of Nicholas de Lira; or from a similar work. In the present edition, however, they have been verified and extracted from the collected editions of the respective Fathers. It has not been thought needful to enter on every occasion into the question of the authenticity of the several extracts, which in the various Catenas pass under the names of SS. Basil, Augustine, Jerome, and Ruffin, &c.]

[c] ["Geminus enim principatus ille, sacerdotum videlicet ac regum, illic conjunctus erat."—[Pseudo] S. Basil. in Psalter. Scholia. ad Ps. cxxi. p. 313. Opp. Wolfgang. Musculo Interpret. Ed. Basileæ, 1565.—S. Basil does not seem to have commented upon this Psalm in his genuine works: "In psalmos hom. xvii. . . . a quibus longe diversa sunt *Scholia in Psalmos*, quæ in Latinis Basilii editionibus reperiuntur, maximam partem ex Chrysostomo et Theodoreto desumpta."—Cave Hist. Literar. tom. i. p. 240.]

[d] [ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις οὐ μόνον ὁ θεῖος ᾠκοδομήθη νεὼς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ βασίλεια· καὶ ἐκεῖ συνέτρεχον ἅπαντες τὰ ἀμφισβητούμενα διαλύοντες. — Theodoret. Interpret. in Psalmos, tom. i. Opp. p. 913. Ed. Sirmond.]

[e] ["Hîc habitabo, quoniam præelegi eam (Ps. cxxxi. 13.): non utique, ut diximus, hanc terrenam et caducam et pœnas impietatis suæ luentem, sed illam liberam et cœlestem Jerusalem, quia eadem et Sion est; per cujus incolatum, quia domus Dei est, nos quoque cives sanctorum et domestici Dei sumus."—S. Hilarii Tractat. in Ps. cxxi. 2, p. 385. Ed. Benedict.]

[f] ["Secundum gradum ascendisti, accede ad tertium. Bona tibi in isto gradu promissa sunt, si credis; sume nunc Psalmum et exprime canticum. Tunc te scimus credidisse, si lætatus fueris in his, quæ dicta sunt tibi. Et relinquens conversationem peccantium, in domum Domini ieris, et ibi stantes fuerint pedes tui in atriis Hierusalem, ubi ædificatio in muris civitatis futuræ extruitur. Ad quam ascenderunt tribus Domini in testimonium Israël. Tribus Domini duodecim Apostoli cognoscuntur, qui priores ascenderunt hos montes ad confitendum nomini Domini Jesu Christi, et ibi sederunt sedes in judicio, sedes super domum David. Rogantes quæ ad pacem sunt Hierusalem, et abundantia diligentibus te, id est, diligentibus Hierusalem. Ibi enim confirmata est pax Christi, quæ in toto mundo diffusa est. Ibi eis dictum est: *Pacem Meam do vobis*, ipsi civitati dicit Dominus Jesus Christus, propter fratres meos et proximos meos: *Qui sunt fratres*, inquit, *Mei et proximi Mei*, nisi isti, inquit, qui faciunt voluntatem Patris Mei. Propter ipsos ergo loquor pacem de te, promittam in cœlis ubi vere ædificaris

SERMON I.

Euthym.[g] [in loc.]

Church only; but jointly for both. For both: therefore, when you sit down to consult, you must not forget the Church;—and when we kneel down to pray, we must not forget the State: both are but one Jerusalem.

There are some in all ages,—too many in this,—which are content to be for the State, because the livelihood both of them and theirs depends upon it: but it is no matter for the Church, they can live without that. And there are some, which are all, at least in their outcry, for the Church: as if *Templum Domini*, the Church, the Church, might swallow up kingdoms, and state-affairs. But there is no religion in the one; and neither that, nor civil wisdom in the other.

Both, then, were commended to the Jews, and both are to us; and both under one name, "Jerusalem." One name, and good reason for it. First, because the chief house of the Commonwealth, the King's house, and the chief house of God's service, the Temple, were both in one Jerusalem. And secondly, because they are as near in nature, as in place: for both Commonwealth and Church are collective bodies, made up of many into one; and both so near allied, that the one, the Church, can never subsist but in the other, the Commonwealth; nay, so near, that the same men, which in a temporal respect make the Commonwealth, do in a spiritual make the Church; so one name of the mother City serves both, that are joined up into one.

Now though in nature the Commonwealth go first; first men, before religious and faithful men; and the Church can have no being but in the Commonwealth: yet in grace the Church goes first; religious and godly men, better than men; and the Commonwealth can have no blessed and happy being, but by the Church. For true religion ever blesses a State: provided that they which profess it do not in their lives dishonour both God and it. And it blesses the State, among other, two ways. One, by putting a restraint

ut civitas, promittam quod sit mihi participatio in idipsum. Et Mecum in ea regnabunt fratres Mei et proximi Mei. Propter domum etenim Dei mei quæsivi tibi bona, bona æterna, ut cives mei tecum non temporaliter, sed perpetualiter regnent. Ipsi gloria, qui ista repromisit, qui regnat cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto in secula seculorum." —Arnobii (Junior.) Comment. in Psalmos Davidis, tom. viii. p. 312. Max. Biblioth. Patrum. Ed. Lugd. 1677.]

[g] ["Ad ipsam Jerusalem pacifica loquimini verba; pax scilicet sit tibi, pax populo."—Euthym. Zigaben. Comment. in Psalmos in Lat. Convers. per P. Saul. Episcop. Brugnatens. p. 242. Ed. Veron. 1530. This Commentary is in the xixth vol. of the Max. Biblioth. Patrum. Ed. Lugd. 1677.]

upon the audaciousness of evil. And this the wise men among the heathen saw: for Seneca tells us, that this placing of an armed Revenger, God, over the head of impious men, which is an acknowledgment of religion, is a great restraint, because against Him, *nemo sibi satis potens videtur*, no man can think himself able enough, either to shun, or resist. SERMON I. L. ii. Nat. Q[uæst.] c. 42.[h]

The other way by which it blesses the State is by procuring God's blessings upon it. So it is, "Sing unto God, O ye kingdoms of the earth;" there is exercise of religion: and then it follows, "God will give strength and power unto His people;" there is the blessing. And it is plain in my text: for here prayer is to obtain blessing for "Jerusalem," for the State. But it is expressly said to be *propter domum Domini*, "for the house of God's sake." Now I would all states would remember this; that they have a restraint from evil by, and a blessing for, religion: it would make me hope that, yet at last, religion should be honoured for itself, and not for pretences. Ps. lxviii. 32. [P.B.V.] [Ibid.] 35. [P.B.V.] Ver 9.

(2.) Secondly, we are come from "Jerusalem," the "body," as it comprehends both State and Church, to that which the prophet would have us do for it—that is, prayer: "pray for Jerusalem:" pray for it. Why, but is that all? Can a State be managed, or a Church governed, only by prayer? No: the prophet means not so. You must seek, and endeavour the good of both, as well as pray for the good of both.

And this is in my text too: for the word in the Septuagint is ἐρωτήσατε, "ask, and inquire after the good of Jerusalem; labour it." And yet it is often read in Scripture for *orate*, "pray for it." Both then. And the Fathers bear witness to both, in this place. For S. Hierome, August[ine,] S. Hieron.[i] S. Aug.[k]

[h] ["Ad coercendos animos imperitorum sapientissimi viri indicaverunt inevitabilem metum, ut supra nos aliquid timeremus. Utile erat in tanta audacia scelerum aliquid esse adversum quod nemo sibi satis potens videretur. Ad conterrendos itaque eos, quibus innocentia nisi metu non placet, posuere super caput vindicem, et quidem armatum." — Senec. Nat. Quæst. lib. ii. c. xlii. p. 856. Ed. Paris, 1607.]

[i] ["Interrogate quæ ad pacem pertineant civitatis hujus, &c."—[Pseudo] S. Hieronym. ut sup. p. 5.]

[k] ["Tanquam ipsis sedibus ait, *Interrogate quæ ad pacem sunt Jerusalem.* O vos sedes, qui jam sedetis ut judicetis, et facti estis sedes Domini judicantis, (quoniam qui judicant, interrogant; qui judicantur, interrogantur:) *Interrogate*, inquit, *quæ sunt ad pacem Jerusalem.* Interrogando quid invenient? Alios fecisse misericordiam, alios non fecisse. Quos invenient fecisse misericordiam, ipsos vocabunt

SERMON I

S. Hilar.[l] S. Prosp. [in loc.][m] S. Basil.[n] Theodoret.[o] &c. [in loc.]

Hilar[y], and Prosp[er], are for the proper sense of the word, *quærite*, seek it, follow it. S. Basil, Theod[oret], and most of the later divines, are for the borrowed sense, *orate*, "pray for it." And surely God would have the great Ministers of State, and the provident Governors of the Church, do both: seek, inquire, consult, do all good to both: and yet when they have done all, he would have them pray too.

And there is good reason for this; for nothing more needful for "Jerusalem," for State and Church, than "prayer." For the State necessary:—for God is President of all Councils of State; and shall He not be so much as called to Council, and desired to sit? And for the Church necessary too:—for the Son of God, Christ Jesus, is Head of the Church; and can the Body do any thing well, if the Head direct it not?

And yet of the two, the Church hath most need to be prayed for:—and that both because the consultations of the Church have more immediate reference to God;—and because the enmity of the world is more set against the Church, for God. And while Christ tells Saint Peter that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church," He insinuates withal, that those open gates gape not wider for anything, than for it; therefore prayer for the Church very necessary:—and certainly, so much danger over it, and so little prayer for it, agree not.

Matt. xvi. 18.

Now *rogate*, "pray for Jerusalem," reacheth every man in

ad Jerusalem: quia ipsa sunt ad pacem Jerusalem. . . . Videte si imus in Jerusalem, interroget se unusquisque vestrûm, qualis est erga pauperem sanctum, erga indigentem fratrem, qualis est erga indigentum mendicum: videat si viscera ejus non sunt angusta. Quia interrogare te habent sedes, quæ sedebunt in judicium, et debent invenire quæ sunt ad pacem Jerusalem. Et quomodo interrogant? Tamquam sedes Dei. Deus interrogat. Si Deum latet aliquid, et illas sedes aliquid interrogantes fugere potest."—S. Augustin. Enarr. in Ps. cxxi. tom. iv. pp. 1391, 1392, Ed. Benedict.]

[l] ["Discenda est ergo doctrina pacis. Nunc enim *rogate* non orandi, sed interrogandi secundum proprietatem græcitatis est sermo. Sed pacem discere, in voluntate est audientium."—S. Hilarii Tractat. p. 388, ut sup. p. 5.]

[m] ["Ad ipsas sedes Dei propheticus sermo dirigitur et ait: Vos qui judicaturi estis, per quos fiat conscientiarum interrogatio, quique estis ipsa Hierusalem, discernite a superbis humiles, ab implacitis separate pacatos: et fiant unitas et abundantia diligentium te. Quia qui tecum habent pacem, tuis in æternum divitiis abundabunt."—S. Prosper. Aquitan. in Ps. cxxi. Max. Biblioth. Patrum, tom. viii. p. 144. Ed. Lugd. 1677.]

[n] ["*Rogate quæ ad pacem.* Precamini et orate, ut multitudine hostium liberemur," &c.—[Pseudo] S. Basil. ut sup. p. 5.]

[o] [ἐπεύχεται δὲ αὐτῇ ὁ θεῖος Δαβὶδ τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς περιβόλους, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκίας, πάσης ἀπολαύειν εἰρήνης.—Theodoret. in loc. tom. i. p. 914. Ed. Sirmond.]

particular; and all men when they are assembled together: —for what can a senate consult upon orderly, or determine providently, if God be not called into the Assembly?—if there be not *Deus stat,* "God standeth in the congregation of Princes?" And such a superior cannot be called into the Assembly mannerly, but by "prayer." Ps. lxxxii. 1.

Nay, solemn State Assemblies, because if they err, they err not lightly, have greatest need of "prayer," both in and for them. Hence is that ancient Christian custom, that Parliaments assemble not for the State, Councils meet not for the Church; but they begin both the first day's work, and every day's work, with "prayer."[p] And the heathen which knew not the true God, knew that this duty was owing to the true God, to pray unto Him most solemnly, in their greatest consultations; and therefore Cæsar being to enter the Senate, sacrificed first: and Appian speaks of that act as a thing of custom. And it cannot be thought that they did sacrifice without prayer: since *litare,* which is to appease by sacrifice, is to please by prayer too. But I leave them. L. ii. Bell. Civil. p. 100.[q]

My text is more ancient and more full than their practice: for here (ver. 5), the tribes are no sooner gone up to the "seats of judgment," to the "house of David," but they are followed close by my text, that they "pray for Jerusalem:"—so prayer the first work, and consultation after. And doubtless the Spirit of God sees prayer wonderful [ly] necessary for Jerusalem, that He makes that, as it were, the door of entrance, both into the "seats of judgment" among men, and the places of divine worship, and adoration of God. Ver. 5.

(3.) We have done with the action, "prayer." Thirdly, then, here is the blessing which we are to beg and desire at God's hands for Jerusalem, for both the State and the Church: and that, if you will believe the prophet, is "Peace."

[p] [Not only is the daily business of Parliament preceded in both houses by prayer, but it was formerly the religious custom for the members of both houses to receive Holy Communion together, both at the commencement of, and during, the session. King James about this time, 1624, seems to have felt some difficulty "that so many hundred should be tied, upon so short warning, to receive the communion upon a day; all could not be in charity, after so late contentions in the house; many must come without preparation, &c."—See Parr's Life of Ussher, pp. 17, 18.]

[q] [ἔθος δ' ἐστὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐς τὴν βουλὴν εἰσιοῦσιν, οἰωνίζεσθαι προσιοῦσι· καὶ πάλιν τῶν ἱερῶν ἦν τῷ Καίσαρι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἄνευ καρδίας . . . αὖθις αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκέλευε θύεσθαι. . . . Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. c. cxvi. tom. ii. p. 336. Ed. Schweighæuser.]

SERMON I.

Peace is one of the greatest temporal blessings which a State or a Church can receive: for where God Himself describes the excellency of government, he describes it by "peace." "The work of justice shall be peace; and My people shall dwell in the tabernacles of peace." I will not load you with a long discourse of "peace," and the benefits it brings. It hath the same fate that some other of God's blessings have; it is better known by want than use; and thought most worth the having by them that have it not. Look, therefore, not upon yourselves in peace, but upon a State in blood, upon a Church in persecution; ask them which are divided by the sword, which are roasting at the flame, conceive your case theirs,—that is the touch-stone which deceives not,—then tell me whether it be not good counsel, *rogare pacem,* to "pray for the peace" of both. And I do ill to call it barely "peace;" our prophet calls it the "blessing of peace." And doubtless it is to teach the world that all earthly benefits are, as it were, unblessed, till "peace" be upon them: for, till then, no enjoying of any.

Isa. xxxvii. 12. [xxxii. 17, 18. The word of righteousness shall be peace.. and My people shall dwell in a peaceable habitation.]

Ps. xxix. 10. [P.B.V.]

Now *rogate pacem,* "pray for the peace of Jerusalem," seems but a plain and a naked exhortation for "peace." I must find more in it then [than] so, and yet offer my text no violence, nor be busy with any thing above me, or out of my profession. Observe then;—when David made this exhortation to pray for "peace," it was *tempus pacis,* a time of peace: for he composed the psalm when he carried the ark to Jerusalem, and before that he had smote the Philistines twice, and made all at peace. A time of peace? Why then a man should think there is least need to pray for it. Yea, but the prophet thinks not so. He was pleased the State and Church under him should enjoy God's benefits longer: and therefore calls for, not "peace," which they had, but "continuance of peace," which they could not tell how long they might hold;—to give thanks to God for the "peace" He had given, and to pray for the continuance of it. And certainly it is one great degree of unworthiness of a blessing to grow weary of it.

2 Kings [Sam.] v. [19—25.]

Ver. 4.

Ver. 6.

Why, but there is "a time for war," as well as "for peace," is there not? Yes, there is. And this time is in God to fit; "I make peace and create evil:" and in the

Eccles. iii. 8.

Isa. xlv. 7.

King to denounce and proclaim. But it is not *dies belli,* the day of war itself, that can make void this duty *rogandi pacem,* of "praying for peace:"—for since the eye of nature could see that the end of all just war is but that men may live in a more just and safe peace, this *rogate pacem,* "pray for peace," must be in the heart, even when the sword is in the hand.

I will not meddle with the State: but there are many times in which God will punish and afflict His Church, and may we then *rogare pacem,* "pray peace" for it? Yes, we may, nay, we must, even then pray for "peace," when His will is not to give it. For first, so much of His will as is revealed, is here expressed to "pray for peace;" and that is a sufficient warrant to us, even against that of His will which is not revealed, so long till He reveal it:—for the will of God binds us no longer, nor no farther, to action, than it is revealed;—"the secret things belong unto the Lord our God: but those things which are revealed belong unto us, and unto our children, that we may do them." And again, Saint Augustine disputes it at large, that a man may, *etiam voluntate bona,* with a will that is good, will that which God will not:—and whatsoever he may will, *voluntate bona,* with a good will, that he may pray for; so he submit to His will, and rest when His will appears.

Deut. xxix. 29.

Enchir. c. 101.[r]

Besides, who knows, so long as the secret of His will is to Himself, whether it be any more than *rogate pacem,* "pray for peace," and have it? For many times that which God will not give without prayer, He will give with it. And then the cause of *non pax* is *non rogant;* no peace, because not prayed for:—and in that case, the State and Church have not more misery, in that there is not "peace," than they have sin, in that they might have had "peace" for asking, and would not pray for it.

[r] ["Aliquando autem bona voluntate homo vult aliquid, quod Deus non vult, etiam ipse bona multo amplius multoque certius voluntate: nam Illius mala voluntas esse nunquam potest. Tamquam si bonus filius patrem velit vivere, quem Deus bona voluntate vult mori. Et rursus fieri potest, ut hoc velit homo voluntate mala, quod Deus vult bona: velut si malus filius velit mori patrem, velit hoc etiam Deus. Nempe ille vult quod non vult Deus, iste vero id vult quod vult et Deus: et tamen bonæ Dei voluntati pietas illius potius consonat, quamvis aliud volentis, quam hujus idem volentis impietas. Tantum interest, quid velle homini, quid Deo congruat, et ad quem finem suam quisque referat voluntatem, ut aut probetur aut improbetur."—S. Augustin. Enchiridion, c. ci. tom. vi. p. 234. Ed. Benedict.]

SERMON I.

Now, this rule varies not:—we are never to neglect that which God hath revealed, which here in our case is to "pray for peace," upon any presumption of that which remains secret. Therefore the objection of the Puritan against our Church Litany, in which we pray to be delivered from "famine," and from "battle;"—and against the prayer which follows it, "that we may be hurt by no persecution;" as if it were an unlawful prayer, because it is sometimes God's will to punish and afflict His Church;—is as ignorant as themselves. For in the Old Testament, here is David's call upon us, *rogare pacem*, to "pray for peace;"—and in the New there is
1 Tim. ii. 2. St. Paul's charge, to pray "that we may lead a quiet and a peaceable life." And hath the Church of England such ill luck, that it cannot do as David and St. Paul bids it, but it must anger the Puritan?[s]

Again, while you follow the prophet's exhortation, and "pray for peace," every kind of false worldly peace will not serve the turn. For as Christ was at *pacem do vobis, sed*

[s] ["To come therefore to touch this matter. I answer, that there is fault in the matter [of the Church prayers] . . . Of this sort is that 'we may evermore be defended from all adversity.' . . . Now, for as much as there is no promise in the Scripture, that we should be free from all adversity, and that evermore, it seemeth that this prayer might have been better conceived, being no prayer of faith, or of the which we can assure ourselves that we shall obtain it. For if it be said that by the word 'adversity' is meant all evil, we know that it hath no such signification, neither in this tongue of ours, neither in other tongues which use the same word in common with us, but that it signifieth trouble, vexation, and calamity, from all the which we may not desire always to be delivered." T. C. p. 106, sect. ult. and p. 107, sect. 1.—"And if all the prayers were gathered together and referred to these two heads of God's glory, and of the things which pertain to this present life, I can make no geometrical and exact measure, but verily I believe there shall be found more than a third part of the prayers which are not psalms and texts of Scripture, spent in praying for and praying against the incommodities of this life, which is contrary to all the arguments or contents of the prayers of the Church which are set down in the Scripture, . . . and that we pray for the avoiding of those dangers which are nothing near us, as from lightning and thundering in the midst of winter, from storm and tempest when the weather is most fair and the seas most calm," &c. Ibid. p. 107, sect. 2.—With this may be compared Whitgift's Defence, pp. 493, 494.—Should this extract seem hardly to come up to the particular objection urged by the Puritans as cited by Laud, Calderwood is more precise:—"A malo pœnæ in genere et [illegible] universaliter ut liberemur, post[illegible] Non promisit D[illegible] hac vita exempturum omni malo. . . ." Altare Damascenum, c. x. p. 473. Ed. Lugd. Bat. 1708. — The difficulty about praying against any judgment as antecedently unlawful does not seem to have been general even among the Puritans: for in the Directory, 1644, which superseded the Common Prayer, occurs a petition "for avoiding the judgments, that we either feel or fear, or are liable unto, as famine, pestilence, the sword, and such like."—P. 24.]

Meam, "peace," but it is "My peace that I give unto you," so David, the type of Christ, would have you "pray for peace," but "His peace," "for Jerusalem." John xiv. 27.

And in this relation the words are general; *rogate,* "pray for the peace of Jerusalem," of the whole State, of the whole Church:—it must not be broken in any corner of Jerusalem, if it may be preserved. A sedition, or a schism in a corner, in a conventicle, which is the place where they are usually hatched, will fire all if it be suffered. For the State, none doubts this, and it is as true for the Church. But where "peace" is truly laboured for, and not had, there the Apostle's limitation will help all; "Have peace with all men," saith the Apostle, but it follows, *si possibile,* "if it be possible;" and *quantum in vobis,* "as much as lieth in you." Rom. xii. 18.

When we therefore "pray for peace with all men," and cannot get it, Heathenism, and Turcism, and Judaism, and Heresy, and Superstition, and Schism, will not repent, and come in, we are quit by *si possibile,* if we do what is possible for their conversion. And again, when any of these that have changed the truth of God into a lie, would have us come over and make peace with them, we are quit, though we do it not, by *quantum in nobis,* "as much as lies in us." For God hath not left it in our power to be "at peace" against His truth: and therefore here is never a *rogate,* no counsel, to pray for that. Indeed peace against truth is not *pax Jerusalem,* a peace fit for the Church. The Church of Rome challengeth us for breach of this peace in our separation from them: but we say, and justly, the breach was theirs, by their separation not only from disputable, but from evident truth. Nor are we fallers out of the Church, but they fallers off from verity. Let them return to primitive truth, and our quarrel is ended. In the mean time, it is *possibile et in nobis,* both possible, and in us, to pray, that God would in His time fill the Church with "truth" first, and then with "peace."

Now, *rogate pacem,* "pray for peace," is a very full circumstance in the text; I cannot leave it yet: for when I consider that he that calls so earnestly for peace is David, it fills me with wonder. For David was a swordman with a witness:—one of the greatest warriors that ever was, and most victorious. Nay, though God had anointed him before to the kingdom; 2 Kings [Sam.] vii. 9.

SERMON I.

yet the means which first made him known to Saul, and afterwards famous in Israel, was, first his conquest of Goliath, and then, his sword against the Philistines. Therefore, if David be come in upon *rogate pacem*, "pray for peace," it cannot be accounted only the gownman's, or the weak man's, prayer; but it is the wise and the stout man's too; for David was both. And certainly it is not cowardice to pray for peace, nor courage to call for troubles. That is the spirit of David, that can sing before the ark of God, *rogate pacem*, "pray for peace:"—but if the Philistines will disturb God's peace, and his, then, and not before, he will dye them in their own blood.

1 Kings [Sam.]xvii.

And *rogate pacem*, "pray for peace," looks yet another way upon David's person. For at the first, David was King only over the tribe of Judah, where he reigned seven years and six months. The other eleven tribes followed Ishbosheth, the son of Saul. But he did not compose this psalm, till the carrying of the ark to Jerusalem, at which time he was King over all, both Israel and Judah. So *rogate pacem*, "pray for peace," was not David's counsel only, when his territories were less, Judah and Hebron; but after the great access of the eleven tribes too, when he was strong; when God had divided his enemies before him, even as water is divided asunder: as himself praiseth God and confesseth. And therefore either David's example is not worth the following, or else, a King in honour, and a King in plenty, and a King that hath added Jerusalem to Hebron, eleven tribes to one, may make it his high honour, *rogare pacem Jerusalem*, to pray to God, and persuade with men, for the peace of Christendom.

2 Kings [Sam.] v. 5.

2 Kings [Sam.] ii.

2 Kings [Sam.]v.20.

And David had good reason to be at *rogate pacem*, "pray for peace:" for though he scarce took any war in hand, but with God's approbation, and against God's enemies; yet we find that his battles and his blood were the cause why God would not suffer him to build His Temple. He might sing before the Ark; he might serve Him in the Tabernacle; but no Temple would he have built by hands in blood. Solomon's hands—hands of peace—must do that. What is the reason? What? why it may be it is, because when the blood and spirits of a man are heated, be the war never so just, yet, to say no more, *aliquid humani intervenit*, some heated passion

1 Chron. xxii. 8.

strikes where, and as, it should not—and, as St. James hath it, "the wrath of man doth not accomplish [worketh not] the righteousness of God"—and the historian tells us they are not a few that are guilty to themselves, *parum innocenter exactæ militiæ*. Jas. i. 20. Appian. L. ii. Bell. Civil. p. 504.[t]

Again:—I cannot be so unthankful to God and my text, but that I must fit one circumstance more to *rogate pacem*, "pray for peace." And it is, "pray for it" this day. Why "this day?" Why? why David brought up the Ark with this psalm, and would have built the Temple; but God's answer to him was, No; but, "Behold, a son is [shall be] born unto thee, who shall be a man of peace [rest]: for [and] I will give him rest from all his enemies round about; therefore his name is [shall be] Solomon, and I will send [give] peace and quietness upon [unto] Israel in his days." And had not David, then, great reason to call upon his people, even all of all sorts to pray for that peace, which God would give by Solomon? And surely we have a Jerusalem, a State, and a Church to pray for, as well as they; and this day was our Solomon, the very peace of our Jerusalem, born; and though he were not born among us, yet he was born to us, and for the good and welfare of both State and Church; and can you do other than *rogare pacem*, "pray for peace," in the day, nay, nativity, the very birth-day, of both Peace and the Peace-maker?[u] Certainly so unnatural to your Prince, so unthankful to God you cannot be. I will lead you the way to pray for him, his honour, and his peace; that this day may return often, and crown many happy and blessed years upon him.[u] 1 Chron. xxii. 9. [many and happy. Edit. 1651.]

[t] [τό τε πλῆθος τῶν ἀποστρατευομένων, οὐ διαλυόμενον ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἔτι, ὡς πάλαι, καθ' ἕνα ἄνδρα, δέει τοῦ μὴ δικαίους πολέμους ἐνίους πεπολεμηκέναι, κοινῇ δὲ ἐς κληρουχίας, κ. τ. λ.—Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. c. cxx. tom. ii. p. 342. Ed. Schweighæuser.]

[u] [King James was born in "an apartment of Edinburgh Castle, which is still shown, and which has undergone no alteration, a most repulsive-looking room, of very limited dimensions, having a small fire-place, and lighted by one window, looking down to the Grass-market and the south-east of the city," (Lawson's note to Bishop Keith's History of the Affairs of the Church and State in Scotland, vol. ii. p. 433,) on the 19th of June, "betwixt the hours of nine and ten in the forenoon," (Keith, vol. ii. p. 432,) —not at night, as Abp Spottiswoode, after Buchanan, states,—in the year 1566. Mr. Tytler (Hist. of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 48) incorrectly places King James's birth in 1565. The tragical circumstances which befel Queen Mary during the period of her pregnancy, ("having passed almost to the end of seven moneths in our birth," Q. Mary's Letter, Keith, vol. ii. p. 414,) by the murder of Rizzio in her presence, on March 9, 1566, and which it seems so much affected the subsequent character of King James, are well known.—Laud's expression, "the peace-maker," may, perhaps, refer to the motto adopted by King James, *Beati pacifici*]

SERMON I.

I had now done with *rogate pacem*, "pray for peace," but that "Jerusalem" is come again in my way. But it is a strange Jerusalem. Not the old one, which is literal in my text, for which David would have prayers; nor that which succeeded it, Jerusalem of Jew and Gentile converted, for which we must pray: "But a Jerusalem of gold and precious stones, (as is described, Apoc. xxi.), which shall be built for them again upon earth in greater glory than ever it was. And this Jerusalem upon earth, is that which is called the Heavenly Jerusalem (Heb. xii. 22), and the new Jerusalem" (Apoc. xxi. 2, 10).

Apoc. xxi. 2,10. G. de voca. Judæ. p. 44.[x]

P. 66, and 79.[y]

So, it is not now sufficient that the Jews shall be, in God's good time, converted to the faith of Christ, as the Apostle delivers it; "But these converted Jews must meet out of all nations: the ten tribes as well as the rest, and become a distinct and a most flourishing nation again in Jerusalem.

Rom. xi. Posit. vii. p. 2.[z]

[x] [The form of this citation might lead to the supposition that it was from a work of Andrew Willet, *De universali et novissima Judæorum Vocatione*, Camb. 1590. 4to.; but the book to which Laud refers is one which was then just published, and which at once attracted much attention, "The Calling of the Jews: a Present to Judah and the Children of Israel, &c. London, 1621." It was published by the Puritan minister of Blackfriars, William Gouge, B.D.; but was not, as the preface expresses, written by him, but by Sergeant Sir H. Finch. Cf. "Clarke's Lives of sundry eminent Persons of this latter age." The work is remarkable as a very early specimen, and from a characteristic source, of certain theories respecting the future destinies of the Jews, which betray a Chiliastic origin; and a marked distinction between the Gentile Christian Church and the Hebrew Christian Church, is openly, and perhaps for the first time, broached in it. Its publication entailed serious consequences upon Gouge. King James, "Bishop Neal, *and others*, putting him on especially against the publisher of the book," for its seditious and anti-monarchical, as well as heretical, tendency, "made him so fierce, that he would admit no apology, committed Dr. Gouge to prison for nine weeks;" from which he was released only by a retractation in six articles, which were submitted to, and approved by, Archbishop Abbot. The retractation and an account of the whole matter, from which the above is taken, will be found in the life of Gouge, prefixed to his Commentary on the Hebrews. London, 1655. Dr. Gouge, afterwards (1626) became one of the trustees of the Impropriation Scheme, devised by the Puritans, and destroyed by Archbishop Laud; and subsequently he sat, next in rank to Cornelius Burges, as one of the Assembly of Divines.]

[y] ["The 33 is the re-edifying of the city of Jerusalem from one end unto another." P. 44. "The quality of those that shall be received to be citizens of this new Jerusalem." P. 66. "The fourth and last step is the glory of the Christian Jewish Church, dwelling in their own houses .... her glory so great that she shall be the enlightened of the world .... the elegancy of the city most royally set forth." Pp. 79, 80.]

[z] ["Of this remnant God will be pleased to gather a Church unto himself." Position 5. "Not of a few, singled out here and there, but of the nation in general." Position 7. "And that of the ten tribes, as well as of the rest of the Jews." Position 8. "They shall repair towards their own country." Position 12. "In the way Euphrates shall be laid dry for them to pass." Position 13. "They shall dwell in their own country," Position 23,

And all the Kings of the Gentiles shall do homage to their King." Good God, what a fine people have we here? Men in the moon. Posit. xliv. and xlix.

I will not trouble you with any long discourse, wherein this error meets with, or parts from, the Chiliasts, nor is it worth any settled confutation; only I cannot desire you, *rogare pacem*, to pray for any peace to this Jerusalem. It was an old error of the Jews, which denied Christ come, that when their Messias did come, they should have a most glorious temporal kingdom, and who but they? I cannot say the author of this vanity denies Christ come, God forbid;—but this I must say, that many places of the Old Testament, which concern the "resurrection from the dead," and which look upon Christ in His first or second coming, are impiously applied to this return of the Jews, which, saith he, "is to them as a resurrection from the dead." And this exquisite arithmetician, beside the first coming of Christ in the flesh, and His second to judgment, which are all the personal comings of Christ that ever the Scripture revealed, or the Church knew, hath found out a "third," between "one" and "two," namely, "His coming to this conversion of the Jews." P. 48.[a]

But see a little: I will not be long a passing. Shall Jerusalem be built again after this eversion by the Romans? The prophet Isaiah saith no. "But this," saith our author, "is not meant of Jerusalem, but of her enemies." Yes, it is meant of Jerusalem, as well as other cities, as appears, and is confirmed by Saint Hierome, and some Isa. xxv. 2. P. 105.[b] Ver. 6, 7. S. Hieron.[c]

"and make one entire kingdom, and a most flourishing commonwealth." Positions 29, 30. "After their call, the whole tract of the east and south shall be converted unto Christ .... the chief sway and sovereignty remaining still with the Jews." Position 44. "All nations shall honour them, and the enemies of the Church by them subdued, and possessed, shall willingly or perforce come under Christ's obedience." Positions 45, 46, pp. 2-5.]

[a] ["The coming here spoken of is neither His first coming in the flesh, nor His second coming unto judgment, but His coming in the brightness of the Gospel; when antichrist, consumed with the spirit of His mouth, shall be abolished by His bright appearance, and our brethren, the Jews, converted unto Christ."—P. 48.]

[b] [On Isa. xxv 2. "His justice in executing judgment, tumbling down the enemies of God's people, notwithstanding all their might."—P. 105.]

[c] ["*Quia posuisti civitatem in tumulum, urbem fortem in ruinam*, &c. Civitas quondam fortis Jerusalem intelligitur, quæ facta est domus alienorum: de quibus Salvator dixit in Psalmo (xvii. 46). *Filii alieni mentiti sunt mihi*, &c. Hæc civitas quum distincta fuerit in æternum non ædificabitur: ut mille annorum regnum et aureæ Jerusalem atque gemmatæ somnia conquiescant."—S. Hieronym. in Isa. c. xxv. lib. vi. tom. iii. p. 214.]

SERMON I.

modern divines. And suppose the place were doubtful, whether meant of Jerusalem or not, yet that other is unavoidable;—"I will break this people and this city, as one breaketh a potter's vessel, that cannot be made whole again."

et Genev. Annot.[d] [in loc.]

Jer. xix. 11.

"Well: but this new-built Jerusalem must be the heavenly, and the new." Yea, but it is against the received judgment of the Church, that these places should be understood of any Church upon earth only, whether Jew, or Gentile, or both. And apparent it is, that there are some circumstances in Apoc. xxi. which cannot possibly be applied to any Church on earth only; which made Saint Ambrose profess that this exposition is against Scripture. And suppose they may be meant of a "militant Church" only; yet what should lead us to see this conversion of the Jews there, I see not.

Rev. xxi.

L. iii. de Virginibus.[e]

For the "ten tribes coming into the rest," the good man should do well to tell us first, where those ten tribes have been ever since before the Babylonish captivity, or point out the story that says they remained a distinct people. No; they degenerated, and lived mixed with other nations that captived them, till not only their tribes were confounded, but their name also utterly lost, for almost two thousand years since;—"and yet now, forsooth, we shall see them abroad again." It is strange we should not know our friends all this while; for, within these seventy-four years, they

P. 56, and 57.[f]

[d] ["Not only of Jerusalem, but also of those other cities, which have been thine enemies."—Geneva Annotat. on Isa. xxv. 2.]

[e] [The reference is to the Tract. de Virginitate, c. xiv. vol. ii. p. 234 of the Benedictine edition, which in the old editions stood as part of the third book de Virginibus. The whole section interprets Apocalyps. xxi. of the Heavenly Jerusalem; but there seems to be no passage in which S. Ambrose, in the words used by Laud, "professes that the contrary exposition is against Scripture."]

[f] ["The continuance of the Turkish tyranny shall be, 'a time, times, and a division of times.' Of what length that is, may be understood by Rev. ix. 13, that giveth him 'an hour, a day, a month, and a year;' which, in all, accounting a day for a year, cometh to 395 days. A time, then, is 100 years; times, 200 years; half a time, 50 years. So the whole space, if you account from the beginning of the Turkish power, which all histories place anno 1300, will end at the year 1650. But that, you will say, cometh short of that which is in the Revelation, by 45 years. The reason is, because the Revelation setteth down the uttermost period of the Turkish name; but the angel here, and Dan. xii. 7, noteth his first declining, which shall be 45 years before, as is apparent Dan. xii. 11, 12. So, Dan. xi. 44, tidings shall first trouble him; and then, a few years after, followeth his utter destruction in the land of comeliness . . . . . His [the Turk's] first declining upon the Jews of the east and

shall have quite rooted out both the Pope and the Turk, our two great enemies; and shall begin to make both of them stagger within less than these thirty years. I cannot tell here, whether it be Balaam that prophesieth, or the beast he rode on.

As for the Kings of the Gentiles, that they shall serve this King of Jerusalem, you need not believe that till you see it. If Christ be King there, I make no question but the Kings of the Gentiles will easily submit to Him; but if it be any other, they have reason to hold their own. And it seems it is not well resolved yet, who shall be King; for p. 56, and 102, the author tells us, "Christ shall be King there;"[g] and p. 163, he unthrones Christ again, and assures us, "One shall be King, whom the Jews shall set up for themselves."

P. 56, and 102.[g]

P. 163.

I will follow this vanity no further; only, do you not think the Papists will triumph, that such monstrous opinions are hatched among us? Sure they will; yet they have little reason here: for two of their learned Jesuits are of opinion,—they are Salmer [on] and Lori [nus],—that the Apostles did not sin, when, led with the error of the Jews, they thought Christ's kingdom should be temporal, which is the ground

Sal[meron], tom. iv. Tract. 37.[h] Lorinus in Act. i. 6.[h]

north countries converted to the Christian faith, which must needs terribly affright him."—Pp. 56, 57.]

[g] ["After all the kingdoms of the world are destroyed, the whole principality [shall] remain with Christ." P. 56. "After the Turk, once destroyed, cometh the kingdom of Christ to be set up among the the Jews .... the King is Jesus Christ." P. 102. "I take it, that by a Messiah, [Dan. ix. 25,] or anointed Governor, he meaneth a Governor which the Jews shall have set up from among themselves, opposed to a foreign governor." P. 163.]

[h] ["Ante ascensionem suam autem non explicuit quod regnum suum minime esset temporale, ne a Christi doctrina recederent et dispergerentur .... Nam etsi tunc præsentibus iis conscenderit in cœlum, nesciebant tamen an descenderet et regnaret: ideo manebat in eis aliqua spes. Proinde non debuit asserere se temporarie nequaquam regnaturum: non alioqui per illos decem dies non manerent simul, nec veniret super eos Spiritus Sanctus: quod tamen Christus voluit, præcipiens illis ne ab Hierosolymis discederent, sed expectarent promissionem Patris. Ideo rogatus an restitueret regnum Israel, temporale sc. quale ipsi putabant, non simpliciter negavit, sed tantum eorum curiositatem repressit .... Apostoli vero credentes Christi regnum temporale, non peccabant: tum quia Christus, qui ablaturus venerat peccata, nunquam ab eis hanc opinionem removerat ..... tum postremo quia, hic articulus regni Christi spiritualis nondum erat apud Judæos ita definitus, ut ad illum amplectendum cogerentur: secus apud nos," &c.—Alphons. Salmeron. Tolet. Commentarii, tom. iv. pars iii. Tractat. xxxvii. pp. 645, 646. Colon. 1612. But cf. ejusdem, tom. xi. Tractat. vii.

"Si quæras, an peccaverint Discipuli, existimantes regnum Christi temporale futurum? Respondebo cum Salmerone [ut sup.], immo et ante et post

SERMON I.

Lorinus in Act. i. 6.

of all this vanity. And Tullius Crispoldus, one of theirs, left notes behind him, which are yet in manuscript in the library at Milan, which agree in all things almost with this present folly. So, whatsoever is amiss in this Jewish dream, the *primogenitus,* the first-born of it, after the Jew, is theirs. Only herein their care outgoes ours:—they keep the frenzy locked up, and we publish it in print.

(II.) I will leave these men to out-dream the Jews, and hasten to, and through, the second general part of the text, which is the prophet's own prayer for Jerusalem, in which the circumstances are six.

S. Hieron. [vers.][i]

Ar[ias] Mon[tanus][l] Trem-[ellius].[m]

First, then, whether you read the text with Saint Hierome, and the Geneva translation,[k] "Let them prosper that love thee," and so make it a prayer;—or with Ar[ias] Mon[tanus], Tremel[lius], and the last translation, "They shall prosper that love thee," and so make it a reason, full of promise, to induce us to pray for it;—it is not much material. It seems

resurrectionem multis eam sententiis Christus confirmare et augere visus erat, nolens tam cito et tam violenter a temporalibus abstrahere, et quasi ablactare, æterna ac spiritualia adeo ægre et difficile capientes .... verendum autem erat, ne, si cœlum conscensurus rem aperte declarasset, delaberentur et a doctrina Christi deficerent, quoniam Sp. Sanctus adventus diem non definierat, neque sciebant an qui ascenderat, post certum tempus descenderet, et regnaret, ut ipsi cogitabant. Naturalis est amor patriæ," &c.—Joann. Lorinus. Comment. in Act. Apostolor. i. 6, p. 14. Ed. Colon. 1621.

"Miratus sum, cum legi apud Tullium Crispoldum, pium cæteroqui virum, in manuscriptis notationibus ad hunc locum, (Act. i. 6,) quæ sunt in bibliotheca nostra Mediolanensis domus professæ S. Fidelis, futurum olim, quando fuerit impletum tempus nationum, ut restituatur civitas Jerusalem: ut ibi regnent de domo David Judæi, atque de tribu Levi sacerdotes sacrificaturi Christiana sacrificia, simul etiam legalia, quamvis in illorum duntaxat quandam ceu effigiem et repræsentationem, ut nunc Christiani quidam agnum in Paschate degustant: præterea ut sit Elias (fortasse proprius tunc illorum Apostolus) existentibus quoque tamen Christi Apostolis, et Christo Ipso, saltem aliquando comparante, et inter illos versante. Anilia sunt hæc, et Judæorum fabulis valde affinia." — Lorinus, ut sup. ibid. p 13.

There is no mention of this Tullius Crispoldus in the great standard work, "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu," Rome, 1676, commenced by Ribadeneira, continued by Alegambe, and brought down to 1675 by Southwell.]

[i] [S. Hieron. "Rogate pacem Jerusalem: sit bene his qui diligunt te."—LXX. ἐρωτήσατε τὰ εἰς εἰρήνην τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ· καὶ εὐθηνία τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι σε·—Interpret. ex Græc. LXX. "Rogate quia quæ ad pacem Hierusalem, et abundantia diligentibus te."—Transl. of Chaldee Paraphr. "Rogate pro pace, Jerusalem; sedeant in tranquillitate amatores tui."]

[k] [Ps. cxxii. 6. "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem; let them prosper that love thee." Ver. 7. "Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces."—Geneva Version.]

[l] [Arias Montanus: "Quieti erunt [prosperabuntur, *in marg.*] diligentes te."]

[m] ["Expetite pacem Jeruschalaimorum, *dicentes;* tranquilli sint amantes tui."—Tremellius. Bibl. Lat. Hanov. 1596.]

both may stand, and I will not make my text narrower than it is.

(1.) Take the words then first as a motive. "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem;" for there is great reason you should do so: for, "they shall prosper that pray for it." So the argument is drawn from prosperity; and prosperity is a reason that is very potent with men in all things else: why then should it not be prevailing in this, to make men pray both for the State, and for the Church? But shall men prosper that do so indeed? Yes, you have no probable cause to distrust it: the words are, "they shall prosper." And if you take them for an earthly promise, you have a King's word for it; if for a spiritual, you have a Prophet's word for it. Would you have any man testify that hath had experience? You have David's word for it; and he had often trial in himself, that God made him prosper for his prayers' sake, and his love to that State and Church. And since you cannot distrust a King, a Prophet, a man of experience, be sure to "pray for the peace of Jerusalem," if it be but that yourselves may prosper.

(2.) Take the words next as a prayer. "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem;" for there is great example to move you to do so. For the kingly prophet goes before you; he asks no more of you, than he doth himself. He would have you pray for Jerusalem, and so doth he: "Let them prosper that love it." The Prophet is not of their humour, that care not what burdens they bind upon other men's shoulders, so themselves may escape the load. No, he prays too; and no marvel; for, as Saint Leo observes, "prayer is one, and the

[Matt. xxiii. 4.] Serm. i. de Jeju. 10 Men.[n]

[n] ["Tria vero sunt quæ maxime ad religiosas pertinent actiones, Oratio scilicet, Jejunium et Eleemosyna. Quibus exercendis omne quidem tempus acceptum, sed illud est studiosius observandum, quod Apostolicis accepimus traditionibus consecratum, sicut etiam decimus hic mensis morem refert veteris instituti, ut tria illa, de quibus locutus sum, diligentius exequamur. Oratione enim propitiatio Dei quæritur (Dan. iv.), Jejunio concupiscentia carnis extinguitur, Eleemosynis peccata redimuntur, simulque per omnia Dei in nobis imago renovatur, si in laudem Ejus semper parati, et ad purificationem nostram sine cessatione solliciti, et ad sustentationem proximi indesinenter sumus intenti. Hæc triplex observantia, dilectissimi, omnium virtutum comprehendit effectus: Hæc ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei pervenit, et a Spiritu Sancto inseparabiles facit: Quia in orationibus permanet fides recta, in Jejunio innocens vita, in Elecmosynis mens benigna."—S. Leonis Sermo i. de Jejunio decimi Mensis, tom. vii. p. 987. Max. Biblioth. Patrum. Ed. Lugd. 1677.]

SERMON I.

first, of the three things, which do most properly belong to all religious actions."

He prays then: and in his prayer this is remarkable,—*prius orat pro orantibus pro Jerusalem,*—he prays for them that pray for Jerusalem, before he prays for Jerusalem itself. First, "let them prosper that love Jerusalem;" and then, "peace be within the walls of it." And there is a great deal of spiritual wisdom in this too:—for while his prayer strengthens them that pray for Jerusalem, both his and their prayers meet, and go stronger to God, than if any, be it David, prayed for it alone. And therefore Ignatius tells his people at Smyrna, that their prayers reached as far as Antioch, who no doubt prayed for itself too, and these joined prayers obtained peace for that Church.

Ver. 6. Ver. 7. Epist. vii. ad Smyrnen.[o]

Secondly, as David prays, as well as he would have others pray, so prays he also for the self-same thing, for which he exhorts others to pray; that is, "for peace." "Peace be within thee." And it is an argument that his exhortation came heartily from him, because he falls to it so close himself. And it is an excellent thing, full of honour to God and themselves, when *Rex et Propheta,* the King and the Prophet, go first in prayer for the State's and the Church's peace.

Now, he prays not for the "peace" of it alone, but for that which follows "peace," the "prosperity" of it too. He well knew that "God hath pleasure in the prosperity of His servants." Nor doth he so pray for the temporal "peace" of the State, as that he forgets the spiritual "peace" of the Church. Nor doth he so pray for the external "peace" of either, but that he prefers the inward and soul-peace of both. Not "peace" without "virtue," for that is but a painted peace; and therefore Saint Hilary will have them together. Peace and virtue *connexa sibi sunt,* must be knit together in Jerusalem. For "virtue" is the strength and preservative of "peace;" and wheresoever "virtue" is not, there "peace" will be the first that will

[Ps. xxxv. 27. P.B.V.] S. Hilar.[p] [in loc.]

[o] [αἱ προσευχαὶ ὑμῶν ἤγγισαν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλήσιαν, καὶ εἰρηνεύεται. —S. Ignat. ad Smyrnæos, c. xi. vol. ii. p. 88. Ed. Coteler.]

[p] ["*Fiat pax,* &c. Pax atque virtus domus hujus connexa sibi sunt. Posse enim aliquid nisi ex pace non poterit; quia participatio ejus in idipsum est: in idipsum autem esse pax sola consequitur."—S. Hilarii. Tractat. p. 389; ut sup. pp. 5, 8.]

abuse itself. Not "peace" without "faith," for that is but a profane peace; and therefore Saint Hierome tells us, it is *Dominus Christus*, our Lord Christ, that is the true "peace" of both State and Church. And if he so long before had foreseen and prayed for, in these words, "Peace be within thee," the coming of the Messiah:—and foresee it, no question, he did:—and I will not deny, but that he prayed for it; since neither Jerusalem's peace could, nor our peace can, be firm without Him. But then, if you ask me why so many States and Churches are divided for and about Christ, and so not at peace, the cause, I must tell you, is the sin of men: they divide and tear Christ first, and then what wonder if they be divided about Him?

S. Hieron.[q] [in loc.]

(3.) Thirdly, here is his prayer for "peace and prosperity for Jerusalem," for the State, for the Church; but whereabouts would he have these excellent blessings seated? Where? why, every where; but especially in *muris et palatiis*, about the wall and the palace: and they are excellently fitted. He would have them spread all over Jerusalem; but, *loca dominii*, the places of their exaltation, are these in my text, "the wall and the palace." For "peace," that keeps at the wall, and so works inward, to calm the city; but the child of peace, "prosperity," that is born after in the palace, and comes outward, to enrich to the very wall.

The strength of a city is in the walls—in walls that are fenced and fortified with turrets, as Euthymius renders it: therefore, if a tempest of war beat upon the walls of it, possess the strength of it, there cannot be "peace." Therefore, the prayer is fit, *sit pax in muris*, "peace be within the walls." And David's prayer is as full as fit: for the Church hath the same walls that the State hath. It is in my text. For it is in *muris Jerusalem*, in the "walls of Jerusalem," and the temple stood within it. And by reason of the knot which God Himself hath knit between the bodies,

Euthym.[r] [in loc.]

[q] ["*Fiat pax in virtute tua.* Dominus Christus est pax nostra: qui nos in uno vinculo charitatis astringit: cujus virtus si convalescat in nobis, et Ipse quoque pectoribus nostris illabitur."—[Pseudo] S. Hieronym. Breviar. in Psalter. Ps. xxi. p. 459.]

[r] ["Alius etiam interpres *in regiis tuis*, dixit, et alius *in septis tuis*. Illud etiam sciendum est quod in Græca lectione non in turribus simpliciter legimus, sed in πυργοβάρεσι, qua dictione hoc in loco mœnia turribus circumsepta ac munita intelligimus."—Euthym. in loc. p. 242. Ed. Veron. 1530.]

SERMON I.

which is, that the same men, which in respect of one allegiance make the Commonwealth, do, in respect of one faith, make the Church, the walls of the State cannot be broken, but the Church suffers with it; nor the walls and fences of the Church trampled upon, but the State must be corrupted by it; therefore the prayer is full, that "peace may sit upon the walls," that "prosperity may fill all that is within them."

Now, neither the walls of the State, nor the walls of the Church, can keep or defend themselves, or that which they compass: there must be men, and they must keep both the wall, and the palace, and "the peace;" *viri-muri*, men-walls. And among these, all are not bound to equal care in preserving "the peace." But as the greatest strength of the dead walls is in *turribus*, in the towers and bulwarks, so the greatest care in the living walls lies in *turribus*, in "the towers" too, upon those that are eminent in State and Church. Now, Saint Hierome tells us plainly, that for the State, the noble, and the wise, and the valiant men, they are "the towers;" and for the Church, Saint Paul tells us, the Apostles were "the pillars;" and Saint Chrysostom, that

S. Hilar.[s] [in loc.]

S. Hieron.[t] [in loc.]

Gal. ii. 9.

S. Chrys.[u] Hom. 10. in S. Matt.

[s] ["Civitatem autem necesse est diverso ædificiorum genere consistere. Non enim omnis est murus, porta, turris: neque omnis plateæ, porticus, tabernæ: sed et differentibus inter se domorum magnificentiis differunt quoque cohabitantium dignitates. In omni vero genere civitatis, nihil neque firmius, neque utilius neque celsius turribus est. . . . . Nunc quoque cum de pace virtutis memorasset, abundantiam beatitudinis perfectæ et æternæ civitatis hujus principibus tanquam firmissimis deputavit."—S. Hilarii, Tractat. p. 389, ut sup.]

[t] ["*Et abundantia in turribus tuis.* In his abundantiam bonorum cœlestium Propheta deposcit: qui supereminentes merito, tanquam turres fortissimæ, hanc civitatem et virtute muniant, et proceritate decorant."—[Pseudo] S. Hieronym. Breviar. in Psalter. ut sup.]

[u] [*δι' ὧν γὰρ ἐπεβούλευσαν, πολὺν μαρτύρων χορὸν ἐργασάμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἀθανάτους ἐκείνους τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀφέντες θησαυροὺς, τοὺς στύλους, τοὺς πύργους, οὐχὶ ζῶντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτήσαντες μεγάλης ὠφελείας τοῖς ὕστερον ὑπόθεσις ἐγένοντο.* — S. Chrysostom. contra Judæos et Gentiles, &c. 16. tom. i. p. 578. Ed. Benedict.

καθάπερ ὁ Πατὴρ πρὸς τὸν Ἱερεμίαν διαλεγόμενος ἔλεγεν· ὡς στύλον χαλκοῦν, καὶ ὡσεὶ τεῖχος τίθησιν αὐτόν· ἀλλ' ἐκείνον μὲν ἑνὶ ἔθνει, τοῦτον δὲ πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης. — Id. Hom. liv. (al. lv.) in Matt. ii. tom. vii. p. 548. Ed. Benedict.

οὕτω καὶ βασιλεὺς πόλει φιλουμένῃ περιβαλὼν τεῖχος ἔξωθεν, ἀσφαλὲς αὐτὸ ποιεῖ καὶ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ διαρκὲς, οὐχ ἵνα καὶ τῆς γενεᾶς αὐτοῦ μόνης ὑπηρετῇ, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα πᾶσι γένηται χρήσιμον . . . . . οὕτω καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ἐποιήσεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ γράμματα ἀποστολικὰ τείχη τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐστιν, οὐχὶ τοὺς τότε μόνον ὄντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὕστερον ἐσομένους ἀσφαλίζεται δι' αὐτῶν. — Id. Hom. in 2 Tim. iii. 1, tom. vi. p. 282. Ed. Benedict.

This last citation, however, while it pretty closely expresses the sentiment in the text, could not have been the passage to which Laud refers, as in Hom. x. on Matt.; because the homily (on 2 Tim.) which contains it was first transcribed and published by Montfauçon. Hom. x. on Matt. contains nothing as near to Laud's citation as those given above from the genuine works of S. Chrysostom. But the passage

the priests are *muri Ecclesiæ,* the walls of the Church. Here, therefore, the prayer must go home; David's did; "peace be" in these walls too;—for if these shall shake upon their foundations, if these knock one against another, there can be no firm "peace" in either body. A wall-palsy is ever dangerous.

(4.) Fourthly, when there is "peace" in *muris et palatiis,* in the "wall and the palace," stays either the prayer for it, or the benefit of it, there? No, sure; — the benefit stays not: — for the "peace of the wall and the palace" is very diffusive; all Jerusalem is the better for it presently. Not the meanest in the body of the State, not the lowest in the body of the Church, but they are the better, or may be, for this "peace." And it is implied in the text; for, in *palatiis,* in the "palaces," names, indeed, the King's house, but under that greater, comprehends the less. And Saint Hierome expresseth it so, and reads in *domibus,* prosperity in the "houses;" for the houses of subjects cannot be empty of "peace," when the palace of the King is full. This for the benefit; and "peace" is no niggard of itself. Then the rule is;—where the benefit goes on and multiplies, there must not be a stop in the prayer; that must go on too, as David's did; "peace be within the walls."

S. Hieron.[x] [in loc.]

(5.) Fifthly, the form of this prayer, *sit pax in muris,* "peace be within the walls," and "prosperity within the palaces," tells us, that Jerusalem had both these. And no doubt can be made, but that Jerusalem, that State, that Church, had both. And to this day, as little doubt there is of civil states, *muros habent et palatia,* they have both walls and palaces. But for the Church, sacrilege, in many places, makes all the

to which Laud refers, is from the spurious Opus Imperfectum in Matt. Hom. x. tom. vi. p. lix. in App. Ed. Benedict. "Turres illius civitatis sunt prophetæ, de quibus dictum est, *Fiat pax in virtute tua, et abundantia in turribus tuis* .... portæ autem ejus sunt Apostoli, de quibus dictum est, *Diligit Dominus portas Sion* .... Muri autem illius sunt sacerdotes, cæterique doctores .... sicut enim muri omnem Gentilium et hæreticorum impetum ipsi suscipiunt, qui tanquam arietibus quibusdam, sic assiduis persecutionibus feriunt clerum, id est, murum Ecclesiæ."]

[x] ["Sit pax in muris tuis, abundantia in domibus tuis."—S. Hieronym. Vers. "*Propter domum Domini Dei nostri,* &c. Prædicando pacem proximis fratribus, qui efficit eos civitatem regis æterni, cui hæc bona quæsivit: ut ab universitate civitatis, in unam ejus transiret habitationem, qui ait, (Johan. xvii.) *Pater, rogo ut ubi Ego sum, et illi sint Mecum,*" &c.—Idem. (seu potius, Pseudo-Hieron.) Breviar. in Psalter. ut sup.]

SERMON I.

haste it can, to frustrate this prayer, that there may be nor "palaces," nor "walls," for "peace," or "plenty," to be in. Doubtless, this ceremonial Church will rise in judgment against the pillage of Christendom:—for the children of that Church left not their Mother without "walls" for defence, not without "palaces" for honour. You see it is plain in my text. But many children of the substantial Church have showed themselves base and unnatural. "Palaces?" no, cottages are good enough; as if it were a part of religion, that Christ and His priests must have less honour in the substance, than they had in the ceremony. And yet, when I consider better, I begin to think it is fit the priest's house should be mean, where the Church, which is God's house, is let lie so basely:—for, "he that hewed timber afore out of the thick trees, was known to bring it to an excellent work; but now they have beaten down all the carved work thereof with axes and hammers." So that now, I doubt, we must vary the prayer, from *sit pax*, to *sint muri*, not presume to pray, there may be "peace and plenty within the walls," but that the very walls themselves may stand.

Ps. lxxiv. 5, 6. [P.B.V.]

But yet I will do the people right too. For, as many of them are guilty of inexcusable sin, both by cunning, and by violent sacrilege, so are too many of us priests guilty of other as great sins as sacrilege can be; for which, no doubt, we and our possessions lie open to the waste. It must needs be so. For the hand of sacrilege itself, though born a thief, could never touch *palatia ecclesiæ*, the "palaces of the Church," as long as God kept the wall of it:—but while our sins make God out of "peace" with the "walls"—while He is at *diruam*, "I will break [down] the wall thereof," it is in vain to shift off by human policies; for the "palaces" cannot stand.

Isa. v. 5.

(6.) Sixthly, I may not omit, that while the prophet prays here for the State and the Church, and them that pray for both, yet his expression is not *pro orantibus*, but *pro diligentibus*; not for them that "pray for it," but for them "that love it;" "Let them prosper that love it, and wish it good." So the prayer, as Euthym[ius] observes, did not comprehend

Euthym.[y] [in loc.]

[y] ["*Et abundantia diligentibus te.* Et abundabunt non tui tantum cives, sed vicinæ etiam gentes, quæ te diligunt."—Euthym. in loc. p. 242.]

the Jews only, but as many of other nations too as were *diligentes,* "lovers of Jerusalem." And indeed these two, to love and to pray for the State, and the Church, make one in my text:—for no man can pray heartily for them, but he that loves them;—and no man that truly loves them, can abstain from praying for them, and the peace of them. This is certain, neither love, nor prayer, can stand with practising against either; nor with spoil and rapine upon either.

Nor is *diligentibus te,* "that love thee," an idle or an empty specification in the prayer of the King:—for as Jerusalem had, so hath every State, and every Church, some false members, whose hearts are nearer the enemy than Jerusalem. Therefore, *sit pax, sed diligentibus,* "let there be peace," but to "them that love thee." But, if any man have a false heart to Jerusalem, let him have no portion in the prosperity of it.

Thus, you see, the prophet's care is for Jerusalem. For this State and Church he would have you pray. In this prayer he would have you beg for "peace." That which he would have others do, he doth himself; he prays both for "Jerusalem," and "for them that pray for it." That which he also prays for, is "peace and prosperity." This "peace" he would have in the "walls," and this "prosperity" in the "palaces." From thence he knows it will diffuse itself to meaner houses. Yet it seems, by the way, that that ceremonial Church hath both "walls and palaces." And last of all, that this "peace," this "prosperity," might be the reward only *diligentium,* of such as love both State and Church.

And now there is a little behind. For my text is an exhortation, and preacheth itself. *Rogate pacem,* "pray for the peace of Jerusalem." Pray for it? Why, it seems strange to me that any age should be weary of "peace," or need an exhortation to pray for it, either in Church or Commonwealth. Yet the age in which David lived was such. For though the instant time of the composure of this psalm was a time of peace, yet it was but a time picked out in an age that loved not peace. David tells us so himself a little before my text: "My soul hath long dwelt among them that are enemies unto peace: I labour for peace, but Ps. [cxx.] 5. [P.B.V.]

Sermon I.

when I speak unto them thereof, they make them ready to battle." So there he speaks for "peace;"—and in my text he exhorts to "pray for peace;"—and after that, himself prays for peace:—and all this is little enough among them that love not peace.

Howbeit, take this with you:—they bear not the best minds, cases of necessity and honourable safety always excepted, that desire the waters either of the Church or the Commonwealth should run troubled that they may have the better fishing. And the Historian sets his brand upon them. Who are they whom peace cannot please? Who? Why? *Quibus pessima est, et immodica cupiditas,*—they whose desires are worse than naught in their object, and void of all moderation in their pursuit.

Paterc.[z] l. ii.

This I am sure of, since David, at the placing of the ark, exhorts all sorts of men *rogare pacem,* to "pray for the peace of Jerusalem," he did not intend to leave out the priest, whom it concerns most to preach peace to the people: neither the High-priest, nor the rest, but they should be most forward in this duty. This for the priesthood then. And Christ Himself, when He sent out the Seventy to preach, gave them in charge to begin at "every house in which they entered," with "peace"—"Peace be to this house." And he that preacheth not peace, or labours not for it, must confess one of these two;—namely, that he thinks David was deceived, while he calls to pray for peace;—or that himself is disobedient to his call.

Luke x. 5.

Calv.[a] [in loc.]

Calvin is of opinion that he which will order his prayers right, must begin, not with himself, but at *Dominus ecclesiæ corpus conservet,* "that the Lord would preserve the Body of His Church." It is just with the Prophet, "peace for Jerusalem." For if any man be so addicted to his private, that he neglect the common State, he is void of the sense of

[z] ["Tentavit [Sulla] justis legibus et æquis conditionibus bellum componere: sed iis, quibus et pessima et immodica cupiditas erat, non poterat pax placere."—Vell. Paterc. Hist. Roman. lib. ii. c. xxv. p. 226. Ed. Burmann.]

[a] ["Itaque si rite ordinare volumus preces nostras, hoc sit exordium, ut Dominus ecclesiæ corpus conservet. Quisquis autem privatim sibi addictus, communem statum negligit, non solum ostendit se vacuum esse vero pietatis sensu, sed frustra sibi bene optat, nec quicquam præposteris suis votis proficiet."—Calvin. in Ps. cxxii. Comment. p. 478. Ed. Amstelod. 1667.]

piety, and wisheth peace and happiness to himself in vain. For whoever he be, he must live in the body of the Commonwealth, and in the body of the Church; and if their joints be out, and in trouble, how can he hope to live in "peace?" This is just as much as if the exterior parts of the body should think they might live healthful, though the stomach be full of sick and swollen humours.

To conclude then:—God hath blessed this State and Church with many and happy years of peace and plenty. To have had peace without plenty had been but a secure possession of misery. To have had plenty, if it were possible, without peace, had been a most uncertain possession of that which men call happiness, without enjoying it. To have had both these, without truth in religion and the Church's peace, had been to want the true use of both. Now to be weary of "peace," especially peace in truth, is to slight God that hath given us the blessing. And to abuse peace and plenty to luxury, and other sins, is to contemn the blessing itself. And there is neither of these, but will call apace for vengeance.

My exhortation therefore shall keep even with Saint Paul's, "that supplications and prayers be made," especially, "for Kings, and for all that are in authority, that" under them "we may live [lead] a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty." Here Saint Paul would have you pray for the King; and in my text the King would have you pray for the State and the Church:—his peace cannot be without theirs;—and your peace cannot be without his. Thus having made my text my circle, I am gone round it, and come back to it; and must therefore end in the point where I began: "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem; let them prosper that love it: peace be within the walls of it, and prosperity within the palaces:" that the peace of God, which passeth our understanding here, may not leave us till it possess us of eternal peace. And this, Christ for His infinite merit and mercy's sake grant unto us. To Whom, with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, be ascribed all might, majesty, and dominion, this day, and for evermore. Amen.

1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

A

SERMON

PREACHED

At White-Hall, on the 24. of March,

1621.

Beeing the day of the beginning of his

MAIESTIES most gracious Reigne.

By the Bishop of S. Davids.

LONDON

Printed by BONHAM NORTON,

and JOHN BILL, Printers to

the Kings most excellent

Maiestie. 1622.

[The only allusion to this Sermon in the Diary is the following entry.

"Anno 1621. March 24.—I preached at Court; commanded to print."

This was March 24, 1621-22. The last day of the year, according to the old mode of computation.

Nichols, (Progresses of King James, vol. iv. p. 755,) quotes Chamberlain's Letters to Sir D. Carleton, which speak of the "tilting that was customary on the King's day, in regard of the King's indisposition, (he being suddenly taken with the gout, or some such infirmity in his knee,) and the foulness of the weather," as deferred "till the Saturday following, and then the like upon the like occasion till after Easter, and so longer, till, at length, it was not at all performed."]

SERMON II.

PREACHED AT WHITEHALL, ON THE 24TH OF MARCH, 1621, BEING THE DAY OF THE BEGINNING OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS REIGN. [Ed. 1651.]

PSALM xxi. 6, 7.

For Thou hast set him *as blessings for ever: Thou hast made him glad with the joy of Thy countenance.* Or, given him.

Because the King trusteth in the Lord: and in the mercy of the most High he shall not miscarry. Or, not be moved.

SERMON II.

MY text begins where every good man should end: that is, in "blessing." Not an Esau, but he "cries" when the "blessing" is gone. This psalm is a thanksgiving for David, for the King. In thanksgiving, two "blessings:" (1.) One, in which God blesseth us; and for that we give thanks: (2.) The other, by which we bless God; for he that praiseth Him, and gives Him thanks, is said to "bless" Him. Gen. xxvii. 34. Exod. xviii. 10.

Now we can no sooner meet "blessing" in the text, but we presently find two authors of it, God and the King: for there is "God blessing" the King, and the "King blessing" the people. And a King is every way in the text: for David the King set the psalm for the people; and the people they sing the psalm rejoicing for the King. And all this is, "that the King may rejoice in Thy strength, O Lord." And when this psalm is sung in harmony, between the King and the people, then there is "blessing." Ver. 1.

This psalm is sung in Jerusalem; but the music of it is as good in the Church of Christ as in their Temple. Nor did the spirit of prophecy in David so fit this psalm to him, as that it should honour none but himself. No; for in this

SERMON II.

S. Hieron.[a] S. Augustin.[b] Jansen.[c] Calv[in.][d] Lorinus,[e] [in loc.]

the learned agree, that the letter of the psalm reads David; that the spirit of the psalm eyes Christ; that the analogy in the psalm is for every good King that makes David his example, and Christ his God.

The psalm in general is a thanksgiving for the happy estate of the King. In particular, it is thought a fit psalm to be recited when the King hath recovered health; or when a gracious King begins his reign; because these times are times of blessing from the King: and these are, or ought to be, times of thanksgiving from the people. My text then is in part for the day: for I hoped well it would have been *tempus restaurationis*, a time of perfect restoring for the King's health;[f] and thanks were due for that; and it is *dies creationis*, the anniversary day of his crown; and thanks is due for that. And there is great reason, if you will receive the "blessing," that you give the "thanks."

[a] ["Iste est rex cui et in superiori Psalmo secundum formam servi oratur salus: Christus Rex regum et Dominus dominantium." — [Pseudo] S. Hieronym. Breviar. in Psalter. Ps. xx. tom. ii. p. 168.]

[b] ["Titulus notus est, de Christo canitur: *Domine in virtute tua lætabitur rex.* Domine in virtute tua, qua Verbum caro factum est, lætabitur homo Christus Jesus .... *Quoniam prævenisti eum in benedictionibus dulcedinis.* Quoniam prius hauserat benedictionem dulcedinis Tuæ, fel peccatorum nostrorum non nocuit Ei."—S. Augustin. Enarr. in Ps. xx. tom. iv. p. 89. Ed. Benedict.]

[c] ["Quemadmodum in priore Psalmo juxta spiritualem sensum David Psalmi author merito dicendus est in Christum respexisse, ut hujus intuitu etiam ipsius Davidis fuerit oratio: ita multo magis de hoc Psalmo existimandum est, cum pleraque hujus Psalmi vel solum, vel perfectius et verius, Christo conveniant, quam Davidi, adeo ut si non solum atque ad literam de Christo sit editus (quod tamen non improbabiliter quidam existimant), saltem præcipue de Ipso sit accipiendus, ita ut hoc Psalmo etiam ipse David gratulatus sit de victoria Christi pro salute humani generis."—Corn. Jansenii Paraphrasis in Psalmos, Argumentum Psalm. xx. p. 48. Ed. Lugd. 1596.]

[d] ["Præcipue vero Spiritus Sanctus fidelium mentes in Christum direxit, qui Regni hujus finis erat et perfectio: ut scirent, non aliter quam sub capite divino ordinato, se fore salvos." — Calvin. Argumentum Psalm. xxi. p. 74.]

[e] ["Omisso titulo, argumentum etiam facile est, quia prioris Psalmi argumento simile . . . Athanasius, Eusebius, Didymus, Origenes, et cum Augustino Latini fere omnes de Christi regno Psalmum interpretantur: Theodoretus, Nicephorus, Euthymius, Basilius, de rege Ezechia pariter, ut præcedentem Psalmum. Priorem sententiam de Messia Rabbini quoque sectantur; de quibus Nebiensis, Eugubinus, Caietanus, præter impudentem R. Salomonem, &c."—Lorinus, in Psalmos Comment. tom. i. p. 281. D.]

[f] [Some illness of the King about this time seems to have been a political one. The Parliament, during their winter session of 1621-1622, had many "heats" about the Spanish match; and "the King, hearing that the House of Commons were hammering upon this remonstrance, went to Newmarket, a cold and bleak air, in as cold and bleak a season, *pretending his health*, but, indeed, to be further from the sound of that noise, which perpetually possessed his ears, of the discontent of the Commons for the intended match with Spain."—Wilson's Life and Reign of King James, 1653, p. 171.]

The text itself is a reason of that which is found, verse 5. There it is said, that "God hath laid great dignity and honour upon the King," and here is the "means" by which, and the "reason" why, He hath laid it there. So three parts will divide the text, and give us order in proceeding. The first is the "means" by which God lays honour upon the King. Not honour only, which they all have as kings: but that great honour in His salvation which attends good and gracious kings. And the "means" are two-fold in the text; *dando et lætificando,* by giving and by joying. By giving the King as a "blessing" to the people: "Thou hast given him, or set him, as blessings for ever." And by joying the King for "blessing" the people: "Thou hast made him glad with the joy of Thy countenance." The second is the "reason" both of the honour and of the means of laying it upon the King: and that is *quia sperat,* because the King puts his trust in the Lord. The third is the "success" which his honour shall have by his hope "that in the mercy of the most High he shall not be moved, he shall not miscarry."

(I.) I begin at the first. The "means" by which God adds honour even to the majesty of princes. And because that doubles in the text, I will take the first in order, which is *dando;* Thou layest great honour upon the King, "by giving, or setting, him as blessings for ever." In which means of laying honour the circumstances are three.

(1.) And the first of the three tells us what a King is: and that is worth the knowing. And mark the Holy Ghost, how He begins. He describes not a King by any of his human infirmities, such as all men have; and no mean ones are registered of David, the particular King spoken of; no, that had been the way to dishonour the King, which is no part of God's intention. But He begins at that which crowns the crown itself. He is *benedictio,* a "blessing," and no less, to the people. And therefore in all things, and by all men, is to be spoken of, and used, as a "blessing."

Now it is one thing for a King to be "blessed" in himself, and another thing to be "given," or "set up," as a "public blessing" to other men. David was both, and he speaks of both. A King then is a "blessing" to, or in,

SERMON II.

himself, as the Septuagint[g] and Tremellius[h] give the words, *dedisti illi benedictiones,* "Thou hast given blessings" to him, when by God's grace he is *particeps sanctificationis,* partaker of God's hallowing Spirit. For no man, King or subject, can be "blessed" in his soul without religion and holiness. And if these be counterfeits, such also is his "blessedness."

But a King is given as a "blessing" to others, when in the riches of God's grace upon him, he is made *Divinæ Bonitatis fons medius,* a mediate fountain of God's goodness and bounty streaming to the people: when he turns the graces which God hath given him to the benefit of them which are committed to him. For mark the heavens, and the earth will learn. God did not place the sun in the heavens only for height, but that it might have power to "bless" the inferior world, with beams, and light, and warmth, and motion. David was thus, and thus was Christ, and such is every King, in his proportion, that sets up these for his example. It is not easy to match David: but a better example than Christ cannot be found; and therefore when Clem[ens] Alex[andrinus] had described a King indeed, one that is *beatus et benedicens,* a blessed and a blessing King; or, if you will, as it is here in the abstract, *ipsa benedictio,* "blessing" itself; he is at *cujusmodi est Dominus,* such as is Christ. There, the perfect example of "blessing."

Lib. 1. Strom.[i]

Now while the King is said to be a "blessing," let me put you in mind that there is a double "benediction;" *descendens una, altera ascendens,* one descending, and another ascending. That which descends, is the "blessing of benefit;" that is the King's "blessing." He above, and this drops from him. In this like God, whose immediate Vicegerent he is; for "God's blessings" also are said to "come down" and descend. The "blessing" which ascends is that of praise, and thanks, and fair interpretation of princes' actions; and

Jas. i. 17.

[g] [ὅτι δώῃς [al. δώσεις] αὐτῷ εὐλογίαν εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος· εὐφρανεῖς αὐτον ἐν χαρᾷ μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου σοῦ.

ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλπίζει ἐπὶ Κύριον, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐλέει τοῦ ὑψίστου οὐ μὴ σαλευθῇ.—LXX.]

[h] ["Nam disposuisti illi benedictiones in sempiternum, exhilaravisti eum lætitia a facie Tua."—Tremellius, Ps. xxi. 7.]

[i] [βασιλεὺς τοίνυν ἐστὶν ὁ ἄρχων κατὰ νόμους, ὁ τὴν τοῦ ἄρχειν ἐκόντων ἐπιστήμην ἔχων· οἷος ἐστὶν ὁ Κύριος.—S. Clement. Alexandrin. Stromat. lib. i. xxiv. tom. i. p. 417. Ed. Potter.]

this is the people's "blessing." And they are both in Scripture together. For there, "Solomon's blessing" comes down upon the people; and the people's "blessing" goes up back again to "Solomon." 3 [1] Kings viii. Ver. 55. Ver. 66.

Between these two is the happy commerce that a Prince hath with his people, when they strive to out-bless one another. When the King labours the people's good, that is his "blessing" descending upon them: and the people labour his honour, that is their "blessing" reaching up to him. And in this sense also, as well as the former, a King is said, *poni in benedictionem,* to be set up as a "blessing," that is, for one whom the people ought to bless. For God's ordinance, "honour the King," doth as much, if not more, require the people to "bless," that is, to "honour," the King, than it doth the King to "bless," that is, to "do good to," his people. And there is no good division between a King and his people, but this one;—that in parting of this "great good" of a gracious government, the King's part be the "honour," the people's part may be the "benefit," and both meet again in the "blessing." And it is so in my text:—for Ar[ias][k] Mont[anus] renders the original by *pones eum;* there the King blesses the people: and the Septuagint[l] and Tremel[lius][m] by *posuisti ei;* there God promises that He will, or rather saith He already hath; and ties the people that they do "bless" the King. 1 Pet. ii. 17.

And you may observe too, that while a King keeps to the two great examples of the text, David and Christ, he is not only a "blessing," but he comes as he writes, plural; and so it is in the text, *benedictiones,* not one, but many "blessings." And indeed the blessings which descend from a King upon a people seldom come single and alone: and in this, Kings keep their honour, that they "bless" by "number." Esau could not believe that his father Isaac, who was far less than a King to "bless," "had but one blessing in his store." Gen. xxvii. 38.

[k] ["Quoniam pones eum benedictiones in perpetuum: lætificabis eum in lætitia cum faciebus Tuis [vultu Tuo, marg.]. Quoniam rex sperans in Domino; et in misericordia altissimi non nutabit."—Arias Montanus, in loc.]

[l] [ὅτι δώσεις αὐτῷ εὐλογίαν εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος· εὐφρανεῖς αὐτὸν ἐν χαρᾷ μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου σοῦ.—LXX.]

[m] [It is not "posuisti ei," but (v. sup.) "disposuisti illi," in Tremellius.]

SERMON II.

But be the "blessings" never so many, never so great; be the assistants which a King hath, never so deserving; —and David had his "worthies" you know;—yet none of them may share with him in his "honour of blessing the people," nor none ought to steal away the hearts of his people upon any popular pretences whatsoever. For these "wheels," of what compass soever they be, move all in his strength, and therefore ought to move to the conservation of his "honour."

1 Chron. xi. 10.

And this is in the text too: for David, no question, had a wise and provident council, nobles of great worth; and these wanted not their deserved honours:—God forbid they should:—and yet when it came to "blessing the people," that great means of specialty of honour to a King, there David stands alone without a sharer. *Dedisti*, yea but whom? not *eos*, but *eum;* not "them," but "him," as "blessings" to the people. The vision which Ezekiel saw, seems to me an expression of this: it was a vision of "wheels;" the "wheels" were many; the "motion" uniform; one wheel within another, the less within the greater; yet in the apparition, these under wheels have no name, but only the "great compassing wheel," *rota ecce una*, one wheel appeared. And in this case, every man is bound to be in the service, but the best may not look to share in the "honour."

Ezek. i. 15.

And seldom mean they well to Princes, that against the praise of the Holy Ghost in this place, *dedisti eum*, Thou hast given "him" as "blessings," will needs be thought "blessers of the people:" for such men do but fish and bait in troubled waters to their own advantage. Yet these men speaking oftentimes with more freedom, than either truth or temper, so long as they find fault with the present government, never want, saith Hooker, "attentive and favourable hearers." Never. For my part I will keep to the words of my text: and if there be a "blessing"—as who sees

Lib. i. verbis primis.[n]

[n] ["He that goeth about to persuade a multitude, that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favourable hearers; because they know the manifold defects whereunto every kind of regiment is subject, but the secret lets and difficulties, which in public proceedings are innumerable and inevitable, they have not ordinarily the judgment to consider." —Hooker, Eccl. Pol. b. i. c. i. in exord.]

not but there is?—under God, I will go to *dedisti eum*, him whom God hath given.

If you think I have staid too long in this circumstance, I hope you will pardon me. You should be as loth as I to go from amidst the "blessings:" but I must proceed.

(2.) Secondly, then, a King, a "blessing;" yea, but how long continues he so? My text answers, it is "for ever." "For ever:" and so Christ and David are both in the letter. "Christ a blessing for ever;" and that simply, for "of His Kingdom no end." "David a blessing for ever:" but that not in himself, but as Christ was to descend from him, as he was *Radix Jesse*, from whence did spring Christ the "blessing for ever." And Christian Kings in their generations, "a blessing for ever" too: but that limited; as they profess Christ, and as they imitate David.

Luke i. 33.

Isa. xi. [1-11].

Now David is observed to have "blessed" the people under him three ways; and to these three generals, all the "blessings" of a King are reducible. These three are, The true worship of the true God, that is the first; the second is, Preservation from foreign enemies; and the third is, Life and vigour of justice and judgment among the people. The closer a King keeps to these three, the larger his "blessings:" but if he fall short in any of these, so much doth he lessen his "blessings" upon the people.

For if he maintain not true "religion" among them, then his "blessings" are not "for ever," but end in the "peace and plenty" of this life. If he preserve them not from "foreign violence," then his "blessings" reach not so far as to the "ever" of this life, but are hewn down by the sword of the "enemy." If he do keep out foreign force, yet if "justice and judgment" be not in life and in blood at home, his best "blessings" will be abused, even by them which are trusted with dispensing them, and that for "ever."

Now this *in perpetuum*, "for ever," was absolute in Christ: but in David, and in other Kings, be they never so eminent in their times, it is but respectively for ever; that is, not for the "ever" of eternity: no, nor for the "ever" of time; but only for the "ever" of perpetuity of their own reign, in their allotted time. And this is a large "for ever." For you can have no longer blessings

SERMON II.

4[2] Kings xxiii. 25.

from the best King, than God gives him time to bless in: for he is constant in "blessing," that gives it not over but with life, and this was Josias' honour.

And yet I may not forget, that sometimes this "for ever" extends the blessings of Kings beyond their life, namely, when they bless their people with a "blessing successor;" for the Septuagint read it here εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος, and that implies "succession;" so it is a "present" and an "after blessing." A blessing in "himself," and a blessing in his "seed." In his "person" and in his "posterity" a "blessing." And the text fitted David home. In "himself," all his life; and in Solomon after his life, a "blessing for ever." And in this the text applies itself, and so will do, I hope, "for ever:" and I will ever pray, that the King may be a "blessing" long, and "his Solomon" after him, to his people, even *in seculum seculi*, age after age, in an "ever of succession," and so proceed.

Jansen.[o] & Copp[en.][p] in loc.]

(3.) Thirdly, then, the King is a "blessing" to his people, and that "for ever;" but who makes him so? yea, now we are come to the great Father of blessings, God Himself; for if you mark, the text begins at *Tu dedisti*, or *Tu posuisti*; "Thou Lord hast given him," "Thou hast set him for blessings." And God as in other, so in this particular, very gracious; for no people can merit this at God's hand, that their King should be a "blessing" to them, and continue so. No, you see *Tu dedisti*, "Thou hast given him," makes him *donum*, a mere gift, no purchase.

Again, no King can promise and perform this out of his own strength, that he will be a "blessing" to his people, and that "for ever." No, you see *Tu posuisti*, "Thou hast set him," keeps him at His disposing, leaves him not to his own. And indeed in this, a King's felicity is born as Christ's was, by an overshadowing power. And you cannot, no not with

[o] ["Duobus tamen modis etiam hæc aliquo modo recte intelliguntur de Davide, sicut et quædam similia in sequentibus aliquot Psalmis, videlicet vel ratione vitæ sempiternæ quam per Christum David in cœlis bona spe expectavit, vel etiam ratione perpetuitatis regni et seminis ejus illi promissæ. . . . In semine enim suo, semper vivente semperque regnante, etiam David quodammodo et vivit et regnat."—Corn. Jansen. Paraphras. in Ps. xx. p. 50.]

[p] ["Asseritur perpetuitas regni Christi cujus umbra in Davide et illius posteris est proposita." — In Ps. xxi. 4. — Barth. Coppen Rostochiensis, Notæ in Psalmos, p. 265. Heidelbergæ, 1619.]

a curious eye, search all the reasons how he is set for blessings; because God, in disposing it, hath hid *lumen intra umbram*, and thickened the veil that is drawn over it.

There is much, I confess, in the King, to compass the affections of his people; and there is much in the people, not to distaste the heart of their King for trifles, not to urge him with indignities. But when all is done, and the "blessing" stands between the King and the people, ready to "descend" from the one to the other; yet you must go to *Tu dabis*, "Thou, Lord, shalt give it." For if He give it not, it will not be had. There will be a rub where it is not looked for, and a stop in the blessing. For is there conquest over enemies, or rest from them? why that is *Tua gratia*, God's favour: so Saint Basil. Is a King, or a State, famous for the ordering of it? why there is *auxilium a Te*, all help from God: so Theodor[et]. And God sells neither His help nor His favour. It is all at *Tu dedisti*, His gift, His free gift, wherever it is.

S. Basil.[q] [in loc.]

Theodor.[q] [in loc.]

There is a great error in the world, I pray God it be not as common as great; and it is, to think that this "blessing" can be brought about by policy only. "Policy" is necessary; and I deny nothing but the "only." And they which maintain that, leave no room for *Tu dabis*, "Thou shalt give the blessing;" but will carry the world before them whether God will or no. Whereas, there is more in *Tu dabis*, in God's gift, than in all the policies of the world. And it must needs be so; for all "policy" is but a piece of God's gift, a branch of God's wisdom; therefore not so great as the whole. And no policy can promise itself success; there it must needs wait and stay for *Tu dabis;* therefore not so great as that upon which it attends. And when miserable events dog the wisest projects, then Ahithophel himself will confess this; though perhaps not till he "go home to hang himself."

2 Kings [Sam.] xvii. [2-3.]

[q] [οὐ γὰρ μόνον σωτηρίαν αὐτῷ δεδώρησαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περιφανῆ καὶ ὑψηλὸν πεποίηκας αὐτὸν, καὶ περίβλεπτον, τῷ τε τῶν πολεμίων παραδίξῳ θανάτῳ, καὶ τῷ τὸν ἥλιον τὴν ἐναντίαν δραμεῖν.—Theodoret. in Ps. xx. Interpret. Opp. tom. i. p. 472. Ed. Sirmond.

The passage in the Scholia of [Pseudo] S. Basil. tom. iii. p. 45. Ed. (Muscul.) Basileæ, 1565, is only a translation from Theodoret (see Note, p. 5.)—Psalm xxi. (xx) is interpreted of Hezekiah.]

SERMON II.

With this "politic" error, went another of "destiny." The former leaves God's altar, and the "sacrifice is to their
Hab. i. 16. own net." This other hampers God in the "net," and makes both His blessings upon Kings, and His blessings from Kings to the people, to be all "fatal." And this was
Flav. Vop. in Vita Cari.[r] too common among the Heathen. So Flav[ius] Vopiscus, *fato remp*[*ublicam*] *regi satis constat;* it is evident enough that Kingdoms are governed by "fate." And then, where is *Tu dedisti?* "Thou hast given him," if he and his blessings must be whether God will or not?

But these blind men had "blessings," and knew not whence they came, unless, perhaps, they understood "pro-
M. Fel. in Octa. p. 96.[s] vidence" by "fate:"—and Minut[ius] Fel[ix] is not much against it. And if they did, then "providence," and *Tu dabis,* are all one; for God never gives a "blessing" to a King and his people, but He gives it, and orders it by "providence." Yet here the wisest of the Heathen are inexcusable, in that they enjoyed the gift, and would not
Rom. i. 21. serve the giver. Look right, therefore, upon the author of "blessings;" and where it is, *Tu dedisti,* "Thou hast given him" as "blessings," as it is with us, there know, it is worth "thanks," both from Prince and people: and where it is *Tu dabis,* "Thou shalt give,"—and my text is read both ways,—there know it is worth the asking, both for Prince and people; that God will give their King unto them as "blessings for ever."

And as it is, *Tu dedisti,* "Thou hast given," so that is not all, but, *Tu dedisti prius,* "Thou hast given first." God is first in the work, wherever a gracious King is a blessing to his people. For that which is simply a gift in the text,
Ver. 3. is a "prevention." And, *prævenis eum,* prevents the King with blessings first, that he after may bless the people; so that, in this common blessing, God is the prime mover, as
Lib. ii. con. duas Epist. Pelag. c. 19.[t] well as in grace given to particular men. And it is true of both, which Saint Augustine delivers but of one, *avertat Deus*

[r] ["Fato rempublicam regi, eamque nunc ad summum evehi, nunc ad minima retrahi, Probi mors satis prodidit."—Flavius Vopiscus in Vita Cari Imp. in exord. apud Hist. Aug. Scriptor. tom. ii. p. 776. Lugd. Bat. 1671.]

[s] ["Nam quidquid agimus, ut alii fato, ita vos Deo addicitis: sic sectæ vestræ non spontaneos cupere, sed electos."—Minut. Fel. Octav. tom. iii. p. 244, Max. Biblioth. Patrum. Ed. Lugd. 1677.]

[t] ["Quapropter multa Deus facit in homine bona, quæ non facit homo:

hanc amentiam, God turn away this frenzy from us, that in His own gifts—and here it is, *Tu dedisti*—we should place ourselves first, and set Him after. No; wherever comes *Tu dedisti,* "Thou hast given," God is evermore first in the work to begin it, yea, and last in the work to perfect it, or else no "blessing."

And therefore mark the text, and you shall find, that wheresoever there is *Tu dedisti,* "Thou hast given," there is still *posuisti,* and *disposuisti,* "Thou hast set him," and "disposed him" to be so. And these two perfect the gift: —for *Tu pones,* that sets and settles the King to be "blessings;" —and there is his constancy; not a "blessing" to-day, and none to-morrow. And, *dispones eum,* for so Tremellius will have it, that disposes and orders the King in his "blessings;"—and there is his wisdom, to sit and steer his passengers; that he may make all things suit with the opportunities, and fit the varieties of the people: for they, do the Governor never so worthily, will not think themselves "blessed," if they be not fitted. And a Commonwealth, when the humours of the people feel a spring, and are swelling, as it was once said of that of Rome, suffers almost all those various motions, *quæ patitur in homine uno mortalitas,* which "mortality itself suffers in a particular man."

Ar[ias] Mon[tanus.][u]

Flav. Vopis[cus] in [Vita]Car.[x]

multa vero facit homo, quæ non facit Deus ut faciat homo. Proinde cupiditas boni non homini a Domino data esset, si bonum non esset: si autem bonum est, non nisi ab Illo nobis est, qui summe atque incommutabiliter bonus est. Quid est enim boni cupiditas, nisi caritas, de qua Johannes Apostolus sine ambiguitate loquitur (1 John. iv. 7), dicens, *caritas ex Deo est?* Nec initium ejus ex nobis et perfectio ejus ex Deo: sed si caritas ex Deo, tota nobis ex Deo est. Avertat enim Deus hanc amentiam, ut in donis Ejus nos priores faciamus, posteriorem Ipsum, quoniam misericordia Ejus præveniet me, et Ipse est cui fideliter veraciterque cantatur, *Quoniam prævenisti eum in benedictione dulcedinis.* Et quid hic aptius intelligitur quam ipsa, de qua loquimur, cupiditas boni?" —S. Augustin. contra duas Epistolas Pelagianorum, lib. ii. (c. ix.) 21, tom. x. p. 445. Ed. Benedict.]

[u] [Arias Montanus, see p. 37.—So also, S. Hierome's version. "Pones enim eum in benedictionem sempiternam: exhilarabis eum lætitia apud vultum Tuum. Quoniam rex confidet in Domino, et in misericordia excelsi non decipietur."—The Chaldee paraphrase. "Quoniam pones eum benedictiones per sæcula, lætitia perfundes eum ab aspectu Tuo. Propterea quoniam rex confidit in verbo Domini, et in misericordia altissimi non commovebitur."—Interpres ex Græc. LXX. "Quoniam dabis ei benedictionem in seculum seculi: lætificabis eum in gaudio cum vultu Tuo. Quoniam rex sperat in Domino, et in misericordia altissimi non commovebitur."]

[x] ["Nam cum ducta per tempora variis vel erecta motibus vel afflicta, nunc tempestate aliqua, nunc felicitate variata, omnia prope passa esset (respublica) quæ patitur in homine uno mortalitas, videbatur post diversitatem malorum jam secura."—Flavius Vopiscus in Vita Cari, ut sup. p. 42.]

SERMON II.

And it should not be passed over neither, for whose mouths David fits this passage. And, first, there is no question but that David speaks it for himself:—and there is the King acknowledging *Tu dedisti,* God's gift in making him all the "blessings" that he is to his people. Next, I find, *pii loquuntur;* they are the faithful that speak it: not a religious and a good subject, but he is at *Tu dabis,* that God would bless his King, and make him a blessing for ever.

And, therefore, when God gives, and the King "blesses," and the people take no notice of it, it is gross ingratitude; when they have a "blessing," and know it not, it is a dangerous slumber; when they may have a "blessing," and will not, it is a sullen pet, and shows they have no mind to be thankful, either to God or the King, for blessing them.

Against this; say, "the blessings are not perfect." Well, suppose that; what then? Are not the best actions of the best men mixed? Shall we refuse degrees of happiness, because they are not Heaven? No sure: for Angels dwell not in bodies of men. And in the very text it is not simply, "Thou hast given blessings," but the words are, *dedisti eum;* "Thou hast given him as blessings." Therefore, the blessings here spoken of, come not immediately from God to the people, that they should be thought every way perfect; but they are strained *per eum,* through him, through the man, and therefore must relish a little of the strainer, him and his mortality. And there cannot be a greater wrong done unto Princes, in the midst of their care for the people, than for men to think they are not "blessed" by them, upon supposal that some things may be imperfect; for "the secret lets and difficulties in public proceedings," and in the managing of great State affairs, are both "innumerable, and inevitable;" and this every discreet man should consider.

Hook. lib. i. Eccl. Pol. sect. i.[y]

And now I am come to the second means of God's laying honour upon the King. The first, you see, was by giving him as "blessings:"—and this second is *lætificando,* by making him glad with the joy of his countenance. The text goes on cheerfully, and so I hope you do in hearing it, from "blessing" to "joy;" and here, again, the circumstances are three.

[y] [See Note at p. 38.]

(1.) And first, God lays honour upon the King, *lætificando*, by "joying" him, while he "blesses" the people. And the "joy" which God gives cannot but be great; and, therefore, the Septuagint expresses it by two words, εὐφρανεῖς ἐν χαρᾷ, "Thou shalt joy him with joy," that is, "Thou shalt make him exceeding glad." And it is requisite a King should have "joy," great "joy," for he cannot sit at the stern, without a great deal of care; and, therefore, it is fit he should be rewarded with a great deal of "joy."

Now, if a King will not fail of this "joy," he must go to the right owner of it, God Himself, that both hath and gives abundantly. If he seek it in himself, if in the very "people which he blesses," it will not ever there be found. For, when a King "blesses" his people, if the blessing be as discreetly taken as it is graciously meant, then there is "joy," "great joy," of all hands: but when a people hath surfeited long upon "peace," and "plenty," it is hard to please them with "blessing" itself; and every little thing is a burden to them, that in long time have felt the weight of none. And in such times, malcontents are stirring; and there want not in all states those that are *docti in perturbanda reipub*[*licæ*] *pace*, very learned in disturbing the "peace" of the commonwealth: and the factious aim of such men, is either to hinder and divert the "blessings" which are ready, and upon the point of descending from the King upon the people; or else in misinterpreting or extenuating blessings already come down. And these, let the world doat on them while they will, are the hinderers of mutual joy between the Prince and the people.

Therefore, if the King will look to the preservation of his own "joy," he must seek it where these cannot hinder it, at *Tu lætificasti*, "Thou, Lord, hast joyed" him. And the word in my text is χαρὰ, which signifies a joy that is inward, and referred to the mind. And *Tu lætificasti*, is ever at this joy; let the intentions be right and honourable, and joy will follow them. It was David's case: I will forbear to tell you how scornfully, how unworthily, he was used by the basest of the people; but God kept close to him, *Tu lætificasti*, and made him joyful.

SERMON II.

(2.) Secondly, where you find *Tu lætificasti,* God joying David, there the "joy" is not like lightning, a flash and gone, but a true and permanent joy; true in regard of the author of it, God; for here is another *Tu dedisti,* God gave this also: and true in regard of the object of it upon which it settles, which is God too; God, and "the light of His countenance." And how can it be other than true "joy," that hath God at both ends of it, as this hath? For it begins at God the author; and it continues, and ends, in God, the object.

"God;" but not simply so expressed in the text, but "God" and "His countenance," expressing after the manner of men:—for a man is joyed at the countenance he loves;—and yet not simply so neither, not his countenance only, but the "joy" of "his countenance." And a man would not see sadness in the face he loves; joy there rejoices him. But no "countenance" like to God's; an eye upon the beauty of "His countenance" fills with joy.

Now, *vultus Dei,* God's countenance here, signifies God's presence; so Bellarm[ine]. It is true; yet not His presence only, but His favour and His love too; so Theodor[et.] It is true; yet not empty love only, but succour and protection too: so Euthym[ius.] It is true; yet it is not these alone, but all these and more.

Bellarm.[z] [in loc.] Theodor.[a] [in loc.] Euthym.[b] [in loc.]

And this considered, it is no great matter how you read my text; *a,* or *cum,* or *juxta,* or *apud vultum;*—for the King needs all, and God gives all;—for when he is once come to *Tu lætificasti,* this joy begins at *a vultu,* "from His countenance;"—it goes on *cum vultu,* "in company with His countenance;"—it enlarges itself *juxta vultum,* when it comes "near His countenance:"—and, at the last, it shall be made perfect *apud vultum,* when it comes "to His countenance," to vision.

[z] ["Quod autem additur, *lætificabis eum in gaudio cum vultu Tuo,* significat lætitiam consequentem illa omnia bona jam dicta: semper enim lætitia sequitur adeptionem boni. Illud, *cum vultu Tuo,* significat coram Te, et in præsentia Tua." — Explicatio Psalmor. Bellarmin. Opera. tom. vi. p. 60. Ed. Venet. 1726.]

[a] [τὸ γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου σοῦ, παρὰ τῷ προσώπῳ σοῦ τέθεικεν ὁ Σύμμαχος· εὐφροσύνην τοίνυν ἕξει, φησὶ, καὶ διεινεκῆ θυμηδίαν τοῦ σοῦ προσώπου, τουτέστι τῆς σῆς εὐμενείας τυγχάνων·— Theodoret. in loc. tom. i. p. 473. Ed. Sirmond.]

[b] ["Benedictio aliquando significat gratiam, seu beneficium; ut illud, prævenisti eum in benedictionibus bonitatis."—Euthym. in loc. p. 43. Ed. Veron. 1530.]

And as David's cares were great, so God would answer them with degrees of "joy:" for, had God any more faces than one, as Ar[ias] Mont[anus][c] renders the original *cum faciebus Ejus*, He would hide none of them from David. If any were more comfortable than other, He shall see that. And, indeed, though the "countenance of God" be but one and the same, yet it doth not look joy upon all men: but His aspects to the creature are planetary, as it were, and various. And David is happy, that, in the midst of all these various turns of "God's countenance," *a*, and *cum*, and *juxta*, and *apud*, we find not, nor I hope never shall, that disastrous aspect of opposition, which is *contra*, against; for then all "joy" were gone;—for if it should be *Rex contra vultum Dei*, then it were all sin; and if it should be *vultus Dei contra Regem*, both which God forbid, then it were all punishment; in neither "joy," in neither "blessing." It is far better in my text, if we take care to hold it there, *cum vultu*, "with," or in, the favour of "His countenance."

(3.) Thirdly, this joy begins at the King; *lætificasti eum*, thou hast made him glad. He must have the greatest care, and therefore the "joy" must be first or chiefest in him. And if you will take a view of my text, you will find "him" excellently seated for the purpose; for I find *eum*, that is, David, that is, the King, standing between *lætificasti* and *gaudium*, as if God would have the King's place known by "joy" on the right hand, and "joy" on the left; here God places the King; this is His ordinance, to season his cares; therefore, if any attempt to displace him, to plunge him into grief, to make him struggle with difficulties, it is a kind of deposing him. The care of Government should be eased, not discomfited: else, doubtless, God would never have placed David between *lætificasti* and *gaudium*, joy and joy.

And it is fit for the people, especially the greater, in their families, to look to this, that David may keep *inter lætificasti et gaudium*, the place where God hath set him: for, when all is done, and the brain weary of thinking, this will be found true;—they cannot hold their places *in gaudio*, in joy, if David sit not sure in his. And it is an excellent observation

[c] [See Note at p. 37.]

SERMON II.

made by Cassiodore, a Senator he was, and Secretary of State to Theodoricus, and after a most strict and devoted Christian, "he makes all sad that endeavours not the King's joy:" *et omnes affligit qui Regi aliquid necessarium subtrahit;* "and he afflicts all men, that withholds necessaries from the King." And, certainly, it is the glory of a State, to keep David upright where God sets him: and that you see is *inter lætificasti et gaudium,* between joy and joy, where God ever keep him and his.

Lib. xii. Epist. 19.[d]

(II.) And now I am come to the second general of the text, the reason both of the thing, and the means,—of the honour, and the manner,—of God's laying it upon Kings: and the reason is *quia sperat,* because the King puts his trust in the Lord;—in which may it please you to observe three circumstances.

The first of these is the virtue itself, which God first gave the Prophet, and for which He after gave him a blessing to the people, and joy in himself. The virtue is hope; that hope "in the Lord." Now, hope follows the nature of faith; and such as the "faith" is, such is the hope. Both must be *in Domino,* "in the Lord," or neither can be true.

And it is, in a sort, with the denial of hope in any creature, that the hope which is founded upon God alone, I say "alone," as the prime author, may be firm, and not divided. *Nulli hominum fidens,* trusting upon no man, is Theodoret. "Not in armies, nor in riches, nor in any strength of man," is Euthymius. "Not in sword, nor spear, nor shield, but in the name of the Lord of Hosts," is David himself. And David could not lay better hold any where; for since before, all lies upon God, *Tu dedisti,* and, *Tu lætificasti,* "Thou hast given," and, "Thou hast made glad;" where could any man fasten better? And, indeed, the words are a reciprocal proof, either to other:—for because God

Theodor. [in loc.][e] Euthym.[f] [in loc.] 1 Kings [Sam.]xvii. 45.

[d] ["Universos affligit, qui Regi aliquid necessarium subtrahit: quia dum lætus optatur ab omnibus, cunctos contristat, si probetur offensus."—Cassiodori Variar. Epist. lib. xii. Epist. 19. Maximiano Vicario urbis Romæ, tom. xi. p. 1255, Max. Biblioth. Patrum. Ed. Lugd. 1677.]

[e] [κρείττων ἐστι τῶν πολεμούντων τῆς σῆς χαρίτος ἀπολαύων· ἀπολαύει δὲ ταύτης, ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν οὐδενὶ θάῤῥων, τῇ δὲ σοῦ ἐλπίδι. — Theodoret. in loc. p. 473, ut sup.]

[f] ["Non in exercitu amplius, aut in divitiis confidit, neque in aliis humanis viribus, sed in solo adjutore Deo." — Euthym. in loc. p. 43. Ed. Veron. 1530.]

gives David hopes; and because David hopes, God gives more abundantly, honour, blessing, and joy. It is in the text, *quia sperat*, even because he trusts.

Secondly, is "trust" then, and relying upon God, a matter of such consequence, that it alone stands as a cause of these? Yes, "hope" and "trust" rightly laid upon God, have ever been in his children *loco meriti*, instead of merit. And whatever may be thought of this "hope," it is a King's virtue in this place. And Thomas [Aquinas] proves it, that "hope" is necessary for all men, but especially for princes. And the more trust in God, *honoratior princeps*, the more honour hath the King, as Apollinarius observes it. And therefore "hope" is not here a naked expectation of somewhat to come; but it is "hope," and the ground of hope, "faith," as some later divines think not amiss. And "faith" embraces the verity of God, as well as the promises made

Lib. ii de Erudit[g] Prin. c. 6.

[in loc.][h]

Calvin.[i] Musc-[ulus].[k] Tremel-[lius].[l] Moller.[m] [in loc.]

[g] ["Quoniam ergo mundanus honor, et hominum gloria regiæ solicitudinis non est sufficiens præmium, inquirendum restat, quale sit eidem sufficiens. Est autem conveniens, ut rex præmium expectet a Deo. Minister enim pro suo ministerio præmium expectat a Domino: rex autem populum gubernando minister Dei est."—S. Thom. Aquin. de Regimine Principum, lib. i. c. 8. Opusculum xx. p. 164, Ed. Opuscul. Antwerp. 1612; and tom. xvii. p. 291, Ed. Opp. Venetiis, 1595. —The third and fourth books of this treatise are said by Quetif to be supposititious. See Fabricii Biblioth. tom. vi. in loc.]

[h] ["Semper infinitam et æternam beatitudinem tribuas:
Gaudio autem lætatur Tuo, Beate, cum vultu.
Spem posuit in Deo honoratior princeps:
Altissimi vero misericordia confidentes fulciit pedes."
—Apollinarii Metaphrasis (Lat. Vers.) in Ps. xx. tom. v. p. 552, Max. Biblioth. Patrum.]

[i] [". . . nempe in spe, vel fiducia . . . regnum tamen Juda, et sub ejus typo regnum Christi excipitur. Sed meminerimus, hac demum firmitate subniti, qui certa fide in Dei gremium se conjiciunt, Ejusque misericordia freti, salutem Ei suam commendant. Nam et sperandi materia simul exprimitur, quod Deus clementer suos fovcat, quos gratuito amplexus est."—Calvin in Ps. xxi. Comment. p. 76. Ed. Amstel. 1667.]

[k] ["Admonemur hoc versu, quid possit spes ac fiducia sincere in Deum collocata. Virtutem Dei expertus est David: quæ desideravit accepit: quæ petiit, non sunt ei negata. Vitam petiit: accepit non vitam modo, sed et longævam vitam: imo et ea accepit quæ non petiit, gloriam scilicet et honorem. . . . unde hæc omnia, forte quia justus fuit, quia ille bonis operibus promeruit. At non dicunt, *Quoniam rex justus fuit*, vel *Quoniam ista bonorum operum meritis consecutus est:* sed *Quoniam rex sperat in Domino*. Ista spes et fiducia in Dominum, meriti loco sunt, quo gratiæ ac favoris Dei compotes evadimus."—Explanatio Ps. xxi. Comment. in Psalter. per Wolfgang. Musculum, p. 206. Basileæ, 1618.]

[l] ["Amplificatio beneficiorum Dei a circumstantia temporis: in quibus se ipsum confirmat propheta primum a revelatione Dei: deinde a fide sua promissiones amplectente."—Tremell. Comment. in loc.]

[m] ["Quia confidit in Domini misericordia, et eadem fiducia impetrabit ut hæc felicitas sit stabilis et perpetua. Ita simul et bonitatem Dei in largiendo commendat: quod ultro et gratuito sola fide ad Eum confugientibus multa et magna beneficia præstet."—Henricus Moller. in Ps. xxi. 8, p. 165. Genevæ, 1619.]

SERMON II.

upon it: and this was right:—for so God promised, and so David believed He would perform.

2 Kings [Sam.] vii. 29.

And since we have found "faith" and "hope" in this action of "trusting God," as our English well expresses it, let us never seek to shut out "charity;" and if "faith," "hope," and "charity" be together, as they love to go, then you may understand the text, *quia sperat*, because he "hopes," *de toto cultu*, of the entire worship of God. For, as Saint Isidore observes, "in all inward worship, which is the heart of religion, are these three, faith, hope, and charity." And in the most usual phrase of Scripture, though not ever, scarce one of these is named, but all are understood to be present; and if so, then, because he trusts, is as much as *quia colit*, because he worships. So at last we are come to the cause indeed, why God set David for such a "blessing" to his people; why He filled him with such "joy of His countenance:" and all was, *quia cultor*, because he was such a religious worshipper.

Lib. viii. Orig. c. 2.[n]

It is in the text, then, that a King's religion is a great cause of his happiness. The greatest politicians that are have confessed thus far, that some religion is necessary to make a King a "blessing" to his people, and a commonwealth happy: but the matter is not great with them, whether it be a true or a false religion, so it be one. But they are here in a miserable error; for since they suppose a religion necessary, as they must, my text will turn all the rest upon them; that true religion is most apt, and most able, to "bless" and "honour" both King and people.

For, first, truth is stronger than falsehood, and will so prove itself, wheresoever it is not prevented or abused; and therefore it is more able. Next, true religion breeds ever true "faith," and true "hope" in God; which no false religion can: therefore it is more apt. Then, true hope and faith have here the promise of God for the King's "joy," and the people's "blessing," even *quia sperat*, because he trusts, whereas the rest have only His permission:—there-

[n] ["Tria sunt autem, quæ in religionis cultu ad colendum Deum in hominibus perquiruntur, id est, fides, spes, charitas."—S. Isidor. Hispal. lib. viii. c. ii. 3. Originum (sive Etymologiarum), tom. iii. p. 348. Ed. Card. Lorenzana. Romæ, 1798.]

fore it is both; both more apt and more able to bless King and Commonwealth than any false religion, or superstition, is or can be.

It was but a scoff of Lucian to describe Christians, simple and easy to be abused; or if any in his time were such, the weakness of the men must not be charged upon their religion: for Christ Himself, the founder of religion, though he did un-sting the serpent in all His charge to His Apostles, yet He left his virtue unchecked; nay, he commanded that, "Be innocent, but yet as wise as serpents." And this wisdom and prudence is the most absolute virtue for a commonwealth. So that till Christians forsake Christ's rule, Lucian's scoff takes no hold of them.

In Morte Peregri.[o]

Matt. x. 16.

Thirdly, since *quia sperat,* the faith and religion of a King, is that which brings God to give him as a "blessing," it must not be forgotten, that trust in God is *inter fundamenta Regum,* amidst the very foundations of Kings. And *spes* is *quasi pes;* "hope," saith Isidore, "is the foot and the resting-place." Now no building can stand, if the foundation be digged from under it. The buildings are the blessings of a state:—a prime foundation of them is the King's trust in God:—take away the truth of this "hope," "faith," and "religion," and I cannot promise the blessings to stand: for then there is never another *quia,* or cause, in the text, to move God to give. But if the cause stand, as Theodor[et] and Euthym[ius] here make it, all is well.

Lib. viii. Orig. c. 2.[p]

Theod-[oret.][q] et Euthym. [in loc.][r]

And here it were sacrilege for me, and no less, to pass by his Majesty, without thanks both to God and him. To him, for *quia sperat,* because he trusteth; for no prince hath ever kept more firm to religion. And it is *sperans* in the present in my text; he continueth it, and will continue it. And to

Ar. Mont.[s]

[o] [καταφρονοῦσιν οὖν ἁπάντων ἐξίσης, καὶ κοινὰ ἡγοῦνται, ἄνευ τινὸς ἀκριβοῦς πίστεως τὰ τοιαῦτα παραδεξάμενοι· ἦν τοίνυν παρέλθῃ τις εἰς αὐτοὺς γόης, καὶ τεχνίτης ἄνθρωπος, καὶ πράγμασι χρῆσθαι δυνάμενος, αὐτίκα μάλα πλούσιος ἐν βραχεῖ ἐγένετο, ἰδιώταις ἀνθρώποις ἐγχανών.—Lucian de Morte Peregrini, c. 13, tom. iii. p. 338. Ed. Hemsterhus.]

[p] ["*Spes* vocata, quod sit pes progrediendi, quasi *Est pes.*"—S. Isidor. Hispal. lib. viii. c. ii. 5. Originum, ut sup. p. 50.]

[q] [αἴτιον δὲ τούτων αὐτῷ γέγονε τὸ ἐπὶ σοι πεποιθέναι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπήγαγε. —Theodoret. in loc. ut sup.]

[r] ["Non simpliciter *lætitiam habebit,* sed simul *cum benevolentia Tua;* et causam adjunxit, quia sinceram scilicet habet in Te spem."—Euthym. in loc. ut sup.]

[s] [Ps. xxi. 1, 2. Arias Montanus in vers.—"Domine in fortitudine Tua lætabitur rex: et in salute Tua quam exultabit vehementer. Desiderium cordis ejus dedisti ei: et prolationem labiorum ejus non prohibuisti."]

SERMON II.

God for *quia dedit*, because in mercy He hath given him this "blessing" so to trust, and by this trust in Him, to be this and many other blessings to us.

And so I come to the last part of my text, which is the happy success which David shall have for trusting in the Lord. It is a reward, and rewards come last. And it is, —that in this trust he shall not slide, he shall not miscarry. And here, to make all parts even, are three circumstances too.

The first of these is the "success," or "reward" itself; and it is a great one: *non commovebitur*, he shall not be "moved;" or at least not removed, not "miscarry." And this is a great "success,"—to have to do with the greatest moveables in the world, the people, and not "miscarry." So that trust in the Lord makes a King, in the midst of a mighty people, *petram in mari turbido*, "a rock in a working sea:" ebb, and flow, and swell, yet insolent waves dash themselves in pieces of all sides the rock; and the King is at *non commovebitur*, "he shall not be moved."

Secondly, this great "success" doth not attend on Kings for either their wisdom or their power, or any thing else that is simply theirs:—no, we must fall back to *spes in Domino*, their trust in the Lord: yea, and this trust, too, is not simply upon the Lord, but upon His "mercy." And, indeed, to speak properly, man hath no ground of his hope but "mercy," no stay upon the slippery but "mercy:"—for if he look upon God and consider Him in justice; if he look upon himself, and weigh his soul by merit, it is impossible for a man to "hope," or in "hope" not to "miscarry." And therefore the prophet here, though he promise *non commovebitur*, that the King shall not miscarry, yet he dares promise it nowhere else than *in misericordia*, in "mercy."

Thirdly, I will not omit the expression, Whose "mercy" it is that gives success to princes; and that is *Altissimi*, "the mercy of the Most High," which is one of God's usual names in Scripture. Now *sperat et non commovebitur;* the King's "hope" and his "success," do both meet in the "highest mercy." It is true, "hope" stands below, and out of sight: for "hope that is seen is no hope," yet as low as it stands, it contemplates God *qua Altissimus*, as He is at highest. And this shows the strength of this virtue of "hope:" for as

Rom. viii. 24.

"hope" considered in nature is in men that are warm and spirited, so it is also considered as a virtue. And therefore give it but due footing, which is upon "mercy," and in the strength of that, it will climb to God, were it possible He should be "higher" than He is.

The footing of "hope" is low, therefore it seeks "mercy:" and the King's hope keeps the foot of the hill: *Rex humili corde sperat:* so Saint August[ine]. And the best hope begins lowest; not at merit, but at "mercy." But then mark how it soars:—for the same hope that bears the soul of man company upon earth, mounts till it comes *ad Altissimum,* to the Most High in heaven.

[in loc.][t]

Now in this mercy-seat it is observable, three grandees are met together; "blessing," "joy," and "hope," and yet there is no strife for precedency: for "blessing" goes first; "joy" comes after, for no man so joyful as he that is "blessed;" and then "hope," to supply the defects of both, because nor "blessings" nor "joy" can be perfect in this life.

["grandies," Editt. 1622—1651.]

And they have chosen to themselves an excellent and safe place in the "mercy of the Most High." An excellent place, and all receive virtue from it. For that David is able to be a "blessing" to the people; that he can "joy" in the blessing; that his "hope" can support him through the cares in ordering the blessing, ere he can come to the "joy:" all is from "mercy."

And a safe place it is;—for there are in all times, and in all states, *conatus impiorum,* endeavours of wicked men, and the labour of these is, to turn "blessing" itself into a curse; to overcloud "joy" with sorrow at least, if not desolation; to crush "hope," or rather, *decollare,* to behead it. No place safe from these attempts but that which is high and out of reach; and no place so high as *sinus Altissimi,* the bosom of the Highest, which is "His mercy."

The reason, then, why David shall not miscarry; nay, not so much as *nutare,* shake, as Ar[ias) Mont[anus][u] renders it, why the sceptre in his hand shall not be *κάλαμος σαλευό-*

[t] ["*Quoniam rex sperat in Domino.* Quoniam rex non superbit, sed humilis corde sperat in Domino. *Et in Altissimi misericordia non commovebitur.* Et in Altissimi misericordia non conturbabit humilitatem Ejus obedientia usque ad mortem crucis."—S. Augustin. Enarr. in Ps. xx. tom. iv. p. 89. Ed. Benedict.]

[u] [Vid. sup. Not. ad p. 36.]

SERMON II.

Matt. xi. 7.

[in loc.][x]

μενος, "a shaken reed,"—and that is the word here in the Septuagint, σαλευθῇ,—is the "mercy of the Highest." And when his feet are got upon this, he shall not slide. And Apollinarius calls the feet of the King, while they rest upon God's "mercy," πέζας πολυθαρσέας, bold and confident feet, that dare venture, and can stand firm any where; and so no question they can, that are upheld by "mercy."

And now to reach down some of the mercies of the Highest upon ourselves; for when I read David at *Rex sperat*, "the King trusts in the Lord," and hear him speaking in the third person, as of another King, methinks the prophecy is worth the bringing home to our most gracious Sovereign. For his constancy in religion is known to the world:—and the freedom of his life argues his trust in the Lord;—and the assurance of his "hope" shall not vanish. For, let him keep to the "mercy of the Highest," and there "he shall not miscarry."

And give me leave to speak a little out of my *spes in Domino*, "my trust in the Lord:" methinks I see, *non commovebitur*, "he shall not miscarry," three ways doubling upon him. First, for his "private" [affairs]; I have two great inducements, among many in another kingdom, to think that he is so firm in the mercies of God that he "cannot miscarry." The one is as old as November 5, 1605. The powder was ready then, but the fire could not kindle. The other is as young as January last, the 9th. The water was too ready then, and he fell into it.[y] Neither of these elements have any mercy, but

[x] [ὑψίστου δ' ἐλέῳ πολυθαρσέας ἤρισε πέζας.—Apollin. Metaph. in Ps. xxx. tom. v. p. 369. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. (Galland.)]

[y] ["On Wednesday," (the 9th of January,) writes the celebrated Joseph Mede to Sir Martin Stuteville, "his Majesty rode by coach to Theobald's to dinner, not intending, as the speech is, to return till towards Easter. After dinner, riding on horseback abroad, his horse stumbled and cast his Majesty into the New River, where the ice broke: he fell in, so that nothing but his boots were seen. Sir Richard Long was next, who alighted, went into the water, and lifted him out. There came much water out of his mouth and body. His Majesty rid back to Theobald's, went into a warm bed, and, as we hear, is well, which God continue."—Ellis's Original Letters illustrative of English History, (First Series,) vol. iii. pp. 116, 117. This accident is related by Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Diary and Autobiography (Halliwell), vol. i. p. 212. Also in a letter from Mr. Chamberlain, and in another from Mr. Thomas Locke, to Sir Dudley Carleton, both quoted in Nichols's Progresses of King James, vol. ii. pp. 749, 750.—See also the Annals of King James. The allusion to "the other kingdom," is to the Gowrie conspiracy.]

"the mercy of the Highest" was his acquittance from both. In the first, he learned that when desperate men have sacramented themselves to destroy, God can prevent and deliver. In the second, he learned that a "horse is but a vain thing to save a man;" but God can take up, take out, and deliver. And in the very psalms for that day, morning prayer, thus I read: "God is our help and strength, a very present help in trouble." And I know not what better use he can make of this than that which follows in the next verse; "I will not fear," nor distrust God, "though the earth be moved."

SERMON II.

Acts xxiv. [xxiii.] 12. Ps. xxxiii. 15 [16].

Ps. xlvi. 1.

Ver. 2.

Next, methinks, I have a *non commovebitur*, he shall not miscarry, for, or in, his "public affairs." Prophet I am none, but my heart is full, that the "mercy of the Highest," which hath preserved him in great sicknesses, and from great dangers, hath more work for him yet to do; the peace of Christendom is yet to settle. Will God honour this island in him, and by his wisdom, to order the peace, and settle the distracted state, of Christendom, and edge the sword upon the common enemy of Christ? Why should there not be trust in God, that in the "mercy of the Highest he shall not miscarry?"

Thirdly, for that which is greater than both these to him, the eternal safety of his soul, here is a *non commovebitur*; "he shall not miscarry" for this neither, for so some read, and some expound, the word of my text, "Thou shalt give him everlasting felicity." Therefore let him be strong, and of a good courage, for in "the mercy of the Most High there is no miscarrying."

Tremel-[lius.] [z] Vers. Angli. vet. [*i.e.* Versio Anglic. vetus.] Apollinar.[a] [in loc.]

Thus you have seen the "King's blessing," the "King's joy," the "King's hope," and the "King's assurance." In the first you have seen, that the King is a "blessing" to his people; that a gracious king, such as God hath given us, is a blessing "for ever;" that he is so, *quia Tu dedisti*, because God hath given, and set him to be so. From "blessing" to "joy;"—and there you have seen, that the joy which follows a blessed Government is a great joy, a true and a permanent joy, a joy that is either first or chiefest in

[z] ["Quoniam ipse rex confidit Jehovæ, ideo fretus benignitate Excelsi non dimovebitur."—Tremellius in loc.]

[a] [Vid. sup. Not. ad pp. 49, 54.]

SERMON II.

the King. Now "blessing" and "joy" are both grounded upon "hope;" this "hope" in the Lord; this "hope" includes "faith," and "religion," and so this "hope" stands amidst the foundations of kings. The "success" assured unto him, is, *non commovebitur*, "he shall not miscarry," not so long as he rests on "mercy;" that "mercy of the Highest."

Non commovebitur, drive wind and tide, "he shall not miscarry." Shall not? What? is it absolute then for David, or for any King? No, I say not so neither. There is a double condition in the text, if David will not miscarry; the one is *ex parte Davidis*, on David's side, and that is at *sperat*, a religious heart to God, that cannot but trust in Him. The other is *ex parte Dei*, on God's side, and that is at *misericordia*, a merciful providence over the King, which knows not how to forsake, till it be forsaken, if it do then. Let us call in the prophet for witness:—"When I said, My foot hath slipped, Thy mercy, O Lord, held me up." Now the foot of a man slips from the condition, from the trust, as Cassian observes, *mobilitate arbitrii*, "by the changings of the will," which is too free to sin, and breach of trust: the holder up in the slip is "mercy;" therefore it is safest relying upon the condition which is on God's side, that is, "mercy," for that holds firm, when men break.

Ps. xciv. 18.

Collat. iii. c. 12. [b]

And mark my text; "hope" goes before, and *non commovebitur*, "he shall not miscarry," follows after; but yet it follows not, till the "mercy of the Highest" be come in between. And indeed to speak properly, all those things which the Scripture attributes to the "faith" and "hope" of man, are due only *misericordiæ Altissimi*, to the "mercy of the Highest," which both gives and rewards them.

And yet for all this, the "hope" of the believer, and the "mercy of God," in whom he trusts, are happily joined in my text; because the "hope of faith" can obtain nothing without the "mercy of the Highest;" and that "mercy" and "goodness" will not profit any man, that doth not

[b] ["Quod uno versiculo per Prophetam manifestissime legimus decantari. *Impulsus versatus sum ut caderem* (Ps. cxvii.), in quo liberi arbitrii infirmitas designatur; et *Dominus suscepit me*, rursum adjutorium Domini junctum eidem semper ostenditur .... et iterum, *si dicebam, motus est pes meus* (Ps. xciii.), lubrica scilicet arbitrii facultate, *misericordia Tua, Domine, adjuvabat me*, iterum mobilitati suæ Dei conjunxit auxilium."—Cassian. Collat. iii. c. 12, p. 363. Atrebati, 1628.]

believe and trust in it. And "hope" and "mercy" are not better fitted to secure David, than "mercy" and the "Highest" are, to make him apprehensive of his assurance; for "goodness and mercy" are invalid without "power;" now that is supplied by *Altissimus*, "the Highest." And power is full of terror when it stands apart from goodness; and that is supplied by "mercy;" when both meet, the "hope" of man is full. So David cannot but see all firm on God's side; and sure he is not to miscarry, if he look to performance of his own. And though it be safest relying upon God, yet it is never safe to disjoin them whom God hath put together. And therefore as He is merciful, so man must be faithful, he must trust.

And now to end at home. David is gone long since to his "hope," the "mercy of the Highest:" but a King, a gracious King, is living over us in "peace," and "happiness," as our eyes see this day.

I know he remembers why God set him over this great and numerous people; that is, *in benedictionem*, even to "bless" them: and that he hath been a "blessing" unto them, malice itself cannot deny. And I make no question but he will go on with the text, and be "blessings" to them "for ever." "For ever," through his whole time; and "for ever," in his generous posterity. *Tu dedisti*, God's gift is through all this; and I will ever pray, that it may never fail.

He hath given this people, all his time, the "blessing of peace;" and the sweet "peace" of the people is *præconium regnantium*, "the glory of kings." And God's gift is in this too: for though it be the King that "blesses," yet it is God that gives "blessing" to blessing itself. And suppose "peace" end in war, *Tu dedisti*, God's gift reaches thither too; for "the battle is the Lord's." The "battle," yes, and the victory. For, saith Saint Basil, *dextera victrix*, "Whosoever be the enemy, the right hand that conquers him is the Lord's."

Cassiod. lib. v. Epist. 39.[c]

1 Kings [Sam.] xvii. 47.

S. Basil.[d] [in loc.]

[c] ["Sic quies suavissima populi et tranquilla dispositio regionum, præconium probatur esse regnantium."—Cassiodori Variar. Epist. lib. v. Epist. 39. Amplio et Liveriæ Theodoricus Rex, tom. xi. p. 1170, Max. Biblioth. Patrum.]

[d] ["*Quoniam rex sperat in Domino.* Non enim frustra rex spe in te collocata, confisus est: sed dexteram tuam omnium inimicorum victricem esse sciens, et velocissimos hostes comprehendere et potentissimos pessundare poterit."—S. Basil. in Psalmos Schol. Opp. Latine Wolfgango Musculo interprete, tom. iii. p. 46. Basileæ, 1565.]

SERMON II.

Now for his "blessing," it is fit he should receive "joy;" but if he will have that true, and permanent—and no other is worth the having—he must look it *in vultu Dei,* in God's countenance. If he look it anywhere else, especially where the joy of His countenance shines not, there will be but false representations of joy that is not.

This day, the anniversary of his crown, is, to all his loving subjects, *dies gaudii,* and *dies spei,* a day of joy, and a day of hope. "A day of joy;" for what can be greater, than to see a just and a gracious King multiplying his years? And "a day of hope;" and what can be fitter, than to put him in mind, even this day, that a King's strength is at *sperat in*
Job vii. 20. *Domino,* his trust in the Lord, "the preserver of men?" That as God upon this day did settle his hope, and his right to this kingdom, upon him; so upon this day, which in this year's revolution proves His day too, *dies Domini,* the Lord's day as well as his, he would continue the settling of his hope
Prov. viii. 15, 16. on Him, by whom "all the Kings of the earth bear rule."

I say, "settle upon Him," and His mercy, that is the last. The very feet of Kings stand "high;" and in high places slips are dangerous. Nothing so fit, so able to stand by them, as *misericordia Altissimi,* "the mercy of the Highest." In the goodness and the power of this mercy, he hath stood a King now almost five-and-fifty years; nay, a King he was before he could stand. Through many dangers the "mercy of the Highest" hath brought him safe. Let him not go
Ver. 8. from under it, and it follows my text, "his right hand shall find out all that hate him;" and for himself, *non commovebitur,* "he shall not be moved," not miscarry.

And so we offer up our evening sacrifice unto God for him, and for ourselves, that God will ever give, and he may ever be, a "blessing" to his people:—that his years may multiply, and yet not outlive his "joy:"—that this day may come about often, and yet never return but *in gaudio vultus Dei,* in the "joy of God's countenance," upon the King; and, *in gaudio vultus Regis,* in the "joy" of the King's countenance, upon the people:—that the "mercy of the Most High" may give him "hope" in the Lord, and strengthen it:—that his "hope" may rest upon the "mercy" that gave it:—that in all his businesses, as great as his place, his "success" may be

non commoveri, not to miscarry:—that he may go on a straight course from "blessing" others in this life, to be "blessed" himself in heaven; and that all of us may enjoy temporal "blessings" under him, and eternal with him for evermore. And this CHRIST JESUS for His infinite merit and mercy sake grant unto us:—to Whom, with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, Three Persons, and one God, be ascribed all might, majesty, and dominion, this day, and for ever. AMEN.

A

SERMON

PREACHED

On Munday, the sixt of February,

At WESTMINSTER:

At the opening of the PARLIAMENT.

By the Biſhop of S. DAVIDS.

LONDON
Printed by BONHAM NORTON and IOHN BILL,
Printers to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie.
M. DC. XXV.

[The entries in the Diary, anno 1625-26, relating to this Sermon are:—

"Jan. 4.—While we were in consultation about the ceremonies [of the Coronation], the Right Honourable the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain of the Household to his Majesty, came from the King to us, and delivered to me the King's orders, to be ready against the sixth day of February, to preach that day at the opening of the Parliament.

"Feb. 6.—Monday, I preached before King Charles, and the House of Peers, at the opening of the Parliament.

"Feb. 26.—First Sunday in Lent; in the evening I presented to his Majesty King Charles, my sermon, which I had preached at the opening of the Parliament, being now printed by his Majesty's command."

King Charles had been crowned on the previous Thursday, "and Candlemas day" (Diary). It seems clear from the internal evidence of p. 64, that the fourth sermon, on Psalm lxxv. 2, was composed and delivered before this which is printed as the third; moreover the circumstances are plainly related in the Diary, (see Preliminary Note to Sermon IV.) as well as by Heylyn:—

"No sooner were the pomps of the Coronation ended, but the second Parliament began; at the opening whereof, on Monday, the sixth of February, our Bishop of St. David's preached before his Majesty, the Lords, &c., in the Abbey Church. He was appointed to have preached in the beginning of the former Parliament, on Saturday, the 18th of June; but that turn being otherwise supplied,[a] he preached the same sermon the next day before his Majesty, at Whitehall, his text then, Psalm lxxv. 2, 3, '*When I shall receive the congregation,*' &c. But now he chose for the theme or subject of his discourse, the 3, 4, 5, verses of Psalm cxii. [cxxii.] viz., '*Jerusalem is like a city,*' &c. In which considering Jerusalem as a type of the Church and State, &c. . . . . This was good doctrine, out of doubt. The preacher had done his part in it, but the hearers did not: the Parliament not making such use of it as they should have done." (Heylyn's Life of Laud, pp. 139, 140.)

These facts had escaped the editor of the collected edition of 1651; finding a sermon of February 6, 1625, and one of June 19, 1625, he placed them accordingly, forgetting that the former date is rather 1625-26. Since, however, when the sermons are quoted, it is according to the order of the edition of 1651, it seems advisable to retain that faulty order, and rather to note the received error, than to correct it, in the present edition.]

---

[a] Laud's own account of this incident is different: (see Preliminary Note to Sermon IV.)

SERMON III.

PREACHED ON MONDAY, THE 6TH OF FEBRUARY, 1625, AT WESTMINSTER, AT THE OPENING OF THE PARLIAMENT. [Ed. 1651.]

PSALM cxxii. 3—5.

"*Jerusalem is builded as a city, that is at unity in itself,* or, compacted together. *For thither the tribes go up, even the tribes of the Lord, to the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord. For there are the seats,* or, the thrones, *of judgment; even the thrones of the house of David.*"

SERMON III.

SOME are of opinion this psalm was made by David, and delivered to the Church to be sung when the ark of God was carried up to Jerusalem; when Jerusalem was settled by David to be the special seat both of religion and the kingdom. The people were bound thrice a year, at Easter, Pentecost, and the Feast of Tabernacles, to come up and worship at Jerusalem. And some think this psalm was prophetically made to sing by the way; to sing when they went up by the steps to the Temple. And it was fit; for they came up with joy; and joy is apt to set men a singing; and at joy the psalm begins: "I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house of the Lord."

Deut. xvi. 16.

Ver. 1.

But whatsoever the use of this psalm was in any special service, certain it is, that Jerusalem stands here in the letter for the city, and in type and figure for the State, and the Church of Christ. My text looks upon both; and upon the

SERMON III.

duty which the Jews did then, and which we now do, owe to both. The "Temple," the type of the Church, that is for God's service. No temple but for that. The "city," the type of the State, that is for the people's peace. No happy State but in that.

Both the "Temple," and the "State," God's house and the King's, both are built upon "pillars." And it is not long since I told you out of Ps. lxxv. that there are many times of exigence, in which if God do not bear up the "pillars," no strength which the pillars have in and of themselves can support the weight that lies upon them; be they "pillars" of the "Temple," or "pillars" of the "State." Therefore here to ease the "pillars" God hath built up buttresses, if men do not pull them down, to stay the main walls of both buildings. The "buttress" and support of the "Temple" is religion. God will not bless the house, if men do not honour and serve Him in it. The "buttress" and stay of the "kingdom" is justice. God will not bless the State, if kings and magistrates do not execute judgment; if the widow and the fatherless have cause to cry out against the "thrones of justice."

Ps. lxxv. 4. [See Sermon IV. and Prelim. Note to this Sermon.]

So the Church and the Commonwealth, God's house, "the Temple," and the King's house, "the house of David," are met in my text. And they would ever meet, and in love, no question, did not some distempered spirits breathe sour upon them. For the Church cannot dwell but in the State. You never read that she "fled" out of the State "into the wilderness," but when some "dragon" persecuted her. And the Commonwealth cannot flourish without the Church: for where the Church is not to teach true religion, States are enforced, out of necessity of some, to embrace a false; and a false is not a help to make a kingdom flourish. But when they dwell together, when the Church, the house of grace, is a welcome inmate to the State, which is a wise fabric of nature, then in the Temple there is meeting; "the people go up to bless and praise the name of the Lord." And then in the State there is meeting, to settle the "thrones of judgment," to make firm "the house of David." And then, and never but then, "Jerusalem," that is, both State and Church, "is as a city that is at unity in itself."

Rev. xii. 6.

My text is nothing but a most deserved praise of Jerusalem. And not of the particular material Jerusalem alone, but of any State, of any Church, that is as Jerusalem then was, and that doth as Jerusalem then did. This praise of Jerusalem, both formal in itself, and exemplary to us, is set down in three things. And they sever the text into three parts. For, first, here is the unity of Jerusalem;—it is "builded as a city at unity in itself." Secondly, the religion of it;—"for thither the tribes go up, even the tribes of the Lord, to the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord." Thirdly, the government of it, both spiritual and temporal;—"for there are the seats of judgment, even the seats of the house of David."

(I.) The first commendation of Jerusalem is from the unity and concord that is in it. It is like a city that is "compacted together;" that is, for the buildings; no desolation in the midst of it, saith Saint Basil. It is like "a city at unity in itself;"—that is, for the inhabitants. For the beauty and artificial joining of the houses is expressed but as a type of this unity; when men dwell as near in affection as their houses stand in place.

S. Basil.[a] [in loc.]

It is a great ornament of a city that the buildings be fair, that they stand not scattering, as if they were afraid each of other. But wheresoever it is so, the city is beholding to unity for it. Let the citizens break their unity once, they will spend so much in quarrels that they cannot build the city. No other times but when the inhabitants are at peace can build; nor no other time can keep them from waste.

But what? hath God care of "houses?" Out of question not, but for the "inhabitants" that dwell therein. "He that taketh the simple out of the dust, and lifts the poor out of the mire," loves not man for his house, nor no city for the buildings. Jerusalem will not let me wander for an instance: for here, so long as the inhabitants served God, and were at

Ps. cxiii. 6.

[a] ["*Hierusalem quæ*, &c.] Densitatem ac frequentiam ædificiorum ejus significat, quod nihil desolationis in medio ejus, sed omnia absoluta et probe concinnata fuerint."—[Pseudo]S. Basil. in loc. p 312.—"Juxta alium interpretem, *cujus contiguitas simul est*, hoc est cujus participationes atque habitationes ob inhabitantium multitudinem contiguæ sunt, atque in unum connexæ sunt."—Euthym. in loc. p. 242. Ed. Veron. 1530.—"Chrysostomus, Græcique cæteri sic exponunt, videlicet de cohærentibus in Jerusalem ante captivitatem ædificiis inter se, deque firmitate illius et frequentia; et quod in medio nihil erat desertum ab ædificiis."—Lorinus in loc. p. 573.]

SERMON III.

unity, what city like Jerusalem? "The city of the great King,"—"the glory [joy] of the whole earth." But when they fell from God to idols, from unity to heart-burnings among themselves, what then became of Jerusalem? What? why just that which our Saviour foretold, "that one stone should not be left upon another that should not be thrown down," not one, neither of temple nor city. And so it came to pass before Adrian left it. If any man therefore will have his house stand, he hath no way but this; to labour that Jerusalem, the city, may serve God in unity.

Matt. v. 35. Lam. ii. 15. Matt. xxiv. 2. Adrichom. in Descrip. Jerus.[b]

Now Jerusalem is by way of singular eminence called here "a city compacted together." And David himself might best call it so: for before David's time Salem and Sion were two cities; the Jews dwelt in Salem, but the fort of Sion was yet held by the Jebusites. Two cities, the upper and the lower;—two people, the Jews and the Jebusites;—two most different religions, the worship of God, and idols, till David's time. But then a "city most compacted together;" the buildings and the cities join; Benjamin and Judah dwell there together; nothing then but unity.

Judg. xix. 10. 2 Sam. v. 7. 1 Chron. xi. 4.

We are yet within the walls of the "city," that is too narrow; we must enlarge the type to the State and to the Church. Saint Hilary puts me in mind that my text reads not "Jerusalem is a city," as if that were all it meant to speak of; but *sicut civitas*, "as a city," just as you see that, so the State, so the Church. The city, the model if you will, but the building these.

S. Hil.[c] [in loc.]

And for the State first; that is *sicut civitas*, "as the city," just so. Walls, and towers, and forts are things of second consideration, *ordo politicus*; the wise ordering of the people in concord and unity is simply the strongest wall of a State: but break unity once, and farewell strength. And therefore

[b] ["Judæis rursum rebellantibus, Adrianus imperator multa eorum millia delevit, ac turres illas cum relicto muro penitus destruxit, jussitque civitatem aspergi sale, juxta Salvatoris oraculum, *non est relictus urbis lapis super lapidem*."—Christoph. Adrichomii Urb. Hierosol. descript. ad calcem Theatr. terræ sanctæ, p. 149. Ed. Coloniæ Agrippæ, 1590.]

[c] ["Ac ne convenire quidquam horum in eam Jerusalem quæ terrena fuit existimaretur, id consecutum est; *Jerusalem quæ ædificatur ut civitas*. Non civitas, sed ut civitas: quia illa terrenæ civitatis ædificatio, et templi extructio, et tabernaculi institutio, speciem æternæ illius et cœlestis civitatis præfigurabat."—S. Hilar. Tractat. in Ps. cxxi. 4, p. 385. Ed. Benedict.]

disjointed factions in a State when they work upon division are *publica iræ divinæ incendia*, the public kindlings of God's anger, and they burn down all before them. And God seldom suffers these to fire a State, till Himself be heated first with the sins of the State. But then "He will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel." Nay, scatter Jacob and Israel itself for them. Gen. xlix. 7.

And my text hath it not simply, "like a city at unity," but at unity "together," or "in itself." And this the better to resist foreign malice. It were happy if all States, Christian especially, were at unity in themselves, and with their neighbours. And the Church prays "that the course of this world may be so peaceably ordered." But when the ambition of neighbouring States will admit nor safe nor honourable peace, then there is most need Jerusalem should be at peace and unity in itself. Need, yes, need with a witness: for all division, if it be voluntary, it is an opening; if it be violent, it is a breach; both make way for foreign force. Coll. Dom. Quint. post Trin.

Thus it was with Jerusalem of old when she lost her unity. For faction within the walls was a help to Titus, and his siege without. And long after, when the Christians had won it from the Saracens, their own divisions among themselves to their loss and shame let in Saladin, the Soldan of Egypt. Plat[ina] in Vit. Urban. III.[d]

And this hath been often fatal upon our Jerusalem: for scarce ever did a great enemy enter this kingdom, but when it was not *sicut civitas*, "like a city at unity in itself." Not at unity opened the door to the enemy still: for Toustain's[e] division and inroad made way for the Norman. And there were more divisions than one to help in the Dane.[f] And

[d] ["Tulit eam quidem rem graviter, et iniquo animo Raymundus Tripolitanus comes, atque quo ei facilius ulcisci injurias suas liceret, inducias cum Saladino paciscitur. . . . Hanc ob rem Saladinus venisse tempus ratus, quod maxime expediebat . . . oppugnabat tum Saladinus urbem Hierosolymitanam, et quidem acriter: quam tandem ii, qui in præsidio erant, desperatis suppetiis, hac conditione dedidere octavo et octogesimo anno, posteaquam a Gotefrido capta fuerit, &c."—Platina de vitis Pontificum in Vita Urbani III. p. 208.]

[e] ["In a short tyme after that Harolde was made king, Tostie, his brother, which as aforesayde was chased into Flaunders, made him a nauye of lx. small sayles of shippes, and sayled about the Isle of Wight, and took prayes. . . . . And from thence he sayled into Lynsey, and did there much harme both with fire and sworde. . . . And then he sayled into Scotland, and went from thence into Norway to desyre ayde of King Harold Harfagar, who there reigned at that tyme."—Grafton's Chronicle, the seuenth part, p. 150.]

[f] ["In the xxix yere of the reigne of Egbert, the Danes with a

SERMON III.

Guorthigernus [Vortigernus][g] first, and Mordredus[h] after, brought in the Saxon. And Julius Cæsar himself, the mirror of men for military discipline, he which, for aught I have read

great hoste entered the second tyme into this land, and spoyled the Isle of Shepey. . . . And beyng encouraged by that victory, they drewe westwarde, and made a confederacie with the West Britons, that lived in seruitude: by whose power they assayled Egbert's landes, &c."—Grafton's Chronicle, the seuenth part, p. 105.

"And other hoost then newely spoyled all Kent,
And by treaty wyntred within the Isle
Of Tenet, then by Kentishe mennes assent."

—Harding's Chronicle, the c.vi. chapiter, p. 197.]

[g] ["Vortigerus, Duke of Cornewall, considering the innocencye and mildenesse of the King (Constantius), cast in his minde how he might be King himselfe. . . . . After the death of Constance, Vortiger by force made himselfe King of Briteyn, and ruled, but not all without trouble. . . . He was so beset with the aforenamed enemies, that he was constreyned, as sayeth *Polichronica*, to sende for Paynems, as the Saxons, to helpe to withstande his enemies and to defend his land, and also he dailye feared the landing of Aurely and Vter.

"Vortiger being thus beset with many enimies, and then being for the exployte of sundrie his affaires at Caunterbury, tydinges was brought him of the arryuing of three talle ships full of armed men at the Isle of Tenet. Wherefore, first he made countenance, as though he had beene in doubt whether it had been Aurely and Vter or no: but when the fame was blowen about, that they were none enimies, anone he caused the leaders and capitaines of them to be brought into his presence, demaunding of them the cause of their landing, and of their Nation and Countrie: who answered vnto the King and sayde, they were of the countrie of Germany, and put out of their countrie by a maner and sorte of a lot, which is sundrie times vsed in the sayde land, and the vse thereof grewe, for that the people of that Countrie increased so greatly, that without such prouision had, the Countrie might not suffice to finde the people that were therein: and that therefore sence fortune had brought them into this land, they besought the king that he would take them to his seruice, and they woulde be ready to fight for the defence of him and his Countrie. And when the king had enquired further, he founde that they had two leaders, named Hengist and Horsus, and they and their people were called Saxons."—Grafton's Chronicle, the seuenth part, pp. 73—75. Compare also Harding's Chronicle, the lxvij. chapiter, pp. 108, 109.]

[h] ["After the departure of Arthur to Francc, (as *Polichronica* sayeth,) the aforesayde Mordred, his Nephew, being desirous to be king, feared somewhat the might of Cerdicus, king of the West Saxons; he therfore sought for his favour, and to obteyne his good will, gaue vnto him certaine townes, fortes, and castels, and other great giftes, so that at the last he wanne him, in such sort that he consented to Mordred's request: in so much that Mordred was shortly after at London crowned King of Briteyn, and Cerdicus was after the manner of the Pagans crowned King of West Saxons at Wynchestre.—Now when knowledge came to Arthur of all this treason wrought by his Nephew Mordred, he in all the haste made towarde Briteyn, and landed at Sandwiche, where he was met by Mordred and his people, whiche gaue vnto him a strong battaile at the time of his landing, and there Arthur lost many of his Knightes, as the famous knight Gawen and other. But yet this notwithstanding, Arthur at the length recouered the land and chased his enimies, and after the buriall of his Cosyn Gawen and other of his, that were slaine, he set forward his hoste to pursue his enimies.—Mordred being thus ouerset of his Vncle at the sea side, withdrewe him to Winchester: where he being furnished of newe Souldiours, gaue vnto Arthur the second battaile, wherein also Mordred was put to the worste, and constrained to flee. Thirdly and lastly, the sayde Mordred fought with his Vncle Arthur at Baath, where after a long and daungerous fight, Mordred was slaine, and the victorious Arthur wounded

and remember, scarce ever turned his back to any enemy else, fled from the ancient inhabitants of this kingdom :—

"Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis;" [Lucan. Pharsal. ii. 572.]

till Avaroius, called by Cæsar Mandubratius, out of hatred, and in faction against Cassibellanus, brought him back again, and made him entrance. [Cæsar.] Lib. v. de Bel. Gal.[i]

So it seems Tacitus's observation was too true upon us, that nothing gave the Romans, powerful enemies though they were, more advantage against the ancient Britons than this, *quod factionibus et studiis trahebantur*, that they were broken into factions, and would not so much as take counsel and advise together. And they smarted for it. But I pray what is the difference for men not to meet in council, and to fall in pieces when they meet? If the first were our forefathers' error, God of His mercy grant this second be not ours. [Tacit.] In Vita I. Agrip. [*i.e.* In Vita J. Agricolæ.][k]

Now there is *coagmentatio duplex*, a double buckling and knitting of the State together. And if either fail, the unity is broken. The one is of the members of the State with their head, especially the most honourable which are nearest. The other is of the members one with another. And this is grounded upon that of the Apostle, where we find some "necessity of every member;" not a like necessity of any; but honour and respect done to all. And why so? Why? why the Apostle tells you. It is "that there may be no division in the body;" thatstill it may be "at unity in itself." 1 Cor. xii. Ver. 25.

And it is very observable that in all that large discourse of Saint Paul, concerning the unity of the "body" and the "members," he conceives at full how corruption can unnaturalize nature itself. Therefore he supposes the "eye may

vnto death, when he had reigned xxvj. yeres, and after buried in the vale or Isle of Aualon, nowe called Glascenburie, whether he was conveyed to bee cured of hys woundes. Who so lust to know more touching the certeyntie and truth of these matters maye reade the booke of the excellent antiquary John Leyland, intituled the Assertion of Arthur, where euerie thing is more at large discoursed."—Grafton's Chronicle, the seuenth part, pp. 84, 85. —Compare also Harding's Chronicle, the lxxxiij. chapiter, pp. 145, 146.]

[i] ["Interim Trinobantes, prope firmissima earum regionum civitas, ex quâ Mandubratius adolescens, Cæsaris fidem secutus, ad eum in continentem Galliam venerat (cujus pater Imanuentius in ea civitate regnum obtinuerat, interfectusque erat a Cassivellauno; ipse fuga mortem vitaverat); legatos ad Cæsarem mittunt: pollicenturque sese ei dedituros, et imperata facturos."—Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. v. c. xvi.]

[k] ["Olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur: nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius, quam quod in commune non consulunt."—Tacit. Agric. xii. p. 152. Ed. Brotier.]

SERMON III.

quarrel with the hand," and it is a dangerous quarrel that, when the "eye" and the "hand," direction and execution, are at odds in any State.

Ver. 21.

Well, he can conceive that; but he doth not so much as suppose that any members would be at odds with the "head:" no, God forbid. The "head" can compose other members, and settle their peace in the "body;" but if any quarrel the "head," all unity is gone. And yet the Apostle cannot suppose so much unnaturalness that any member should quarrel the "head;" not the "tongue," as unruly as it is: yet he is very direct that there is "an office," which the "head" owes the "body," and all the "members" to the very meanest, for the preservation of this unity. For "the head cannot say to the very feet," as low as they are, "I have no need of you."

Ver. 21.

And for the Church, that is as the city too, just so. Doctrine and discipline are the walls and the towers of it. But be the one never so true, and be the other never so perfect, they come short of preservation, if that body be not "at unity in itself." The Church, take it Catholic, cannot stand well if it be not compacted together into a holy unity in faith and charity. It was miserable when Saint Basil laboured the cure of it: for distracted it was then, as Saint Gregory Nazianzen[1] witnesseth, into six hundred divers opinions and errors. And it is miserable at this day; the Lord in His time shew it mercy.

Orat. xx.

And as the whole Church is in regard of the affairs of Christendom, so is each particular Church in the nation and kingdom in which it sojourns. If it be not at unity in itself, it doth but invite malice, which is ready to do hurt without any invitation; and it ever lies with an open side to the devil and all his batteries. [So both State and Church then happy, and never till then, when they are both at unity in themselves, and one with another.

[1] [ἀλλ' ὑψοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν διάρας, καὶ κύκλῳ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὕμμα περιαγαγὼν, πᾶσαν εἴσω ποιεῖται τὴν οἰκουμένην, ὅσην ὁ σωτήριος λόγος ἐπέδραμεν· ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν μέγαν τοῦ Θεοῦ κλῆρον. . . . τὸ ἅγιον ἔθνος, τὸ βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, κακῶς διακείμενον, εἴς τε μυρίας δόξας καὶ πλάνας διεσπασμένον. — S. Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. Funeb. in S. Basil. Orat. xliii. (al. xx.) tom. i. c. xli. p. 802. Ed. Benedict.—Laud seems to have been misled by only looking to the Latin translator, who renders the conventional and indefinite *μυρίας* by the equally conventional and indefinite "sexcentas."]

The Vulgar[m] reads it, Jerusalem is a city, *cujus participatio in idipsum*, whose participation is upon the same thing; and that reading is warranted by the LXX.[n] μετοχὴ, whose participation, or communion, is in, and of, the same. So this reading follows the effect, the other the cause. For unity in itself is the cause of all "participation." For unity is in charity; and charity communicates all good things. It is "bountiful," and if any suffer, it suffers with it; "participation" still. Now in heaven, and the Church triumphant, there will be full "participation," because there is perfect "union:" but on earth, whether it be in the State, or the Church militant, look how much there wants of perfect "unity," and so much there will ever want of joyful "participation."

1 Cor. xiii. 4.

Well, both State and Church owe much to unity; and therefore very little to them that break the peace of either. "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do." But if unity be so necessary, how may it be preserved in both? How? I will tell you how.

Luke xxiii. 34.

Would you keep the State in unity? In any case take heed of breaking the peace of the Church. The peace of the State depends much upon it. For divide Christ in the minds of men, or divide the minds of men about their hope of salvation in Christ, and tell me what unity there will be. This so far as the Church is an ingredient into the unity of the State. But what other things are concurring to the unity of it, the State itself knows better than I can teach.

And would you keep the Church in peace, that it may help on the unity of the State? If I mistake not, that can never be done but by Christian patience; and that I find in the letter of my text. For it is not here simply said, "Jerusalem is as a city," no, but, "built as a city." Built, and "upon a hill." Many a cold and a bitter storm it must endure, God knows. And if Christ had not been a "Rock" in the "foundation," I make no question it had been down long ere this. Built then; but upwards in the building from this foundation, mark all along the walls of it, *lapis lapidem*

Isa. ii. 2.

Matt. xvi. 18.

[m] ["Jerusalem, quæ ædificatur ut civitas: cujus participatio ejus in idipsum."—Vulgate.]

[n] [Ἰερουσαλὴμ οἰκοδομουμένη ὡς πόλις, ἧς ἡ μετοχὴ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἀνέβησαν αἱ φυλαὶ, αἱ φυλαὶ Κυρίου, μαρτύριον τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, τοῦ ἐξομολογήσασθαι τῷ ὀνόματι Κυρίου· ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐκάθισαν θρόνοι εἰς κρίσιν, θρόνοι ἐπ' οἶκον Δαυίδ.—LXX.]

SERMON III.

portat et portatur: there is such unity in the building, that every stone bears another, and is borne by another. And the Apostle calls for the same duty in the spiritual building,

Gal. vi. 2. "bear ye one another's burdens." So no patience, no bearing, and no bearing, no unity. The building cracks presently. And continue it cannot long, if the great master-builders take not care of the mortar. If it be laid with

Ezek. xiii. 10. "untempered," or "distempered morter," all will be naught.

This psalm was used for many years together in the Church, at evensong upon New Year's day, the day of the Circumcision.[o] Why the Church appointed it for that day, is

[Ver. 6.] not my question now: this I am sure of, this psalm calls upon us for the peace of Jerusalem. And that peace can neither be had nor held long unless there be a "circumci-

[o] [This expression would seem to lead to the belief that Laud was referring to some former service-book of the English Church, which had appointed *Lætatus sum* among the psalms at Vespers of the Feast of the Circumcision. Such, however, does not appear to have been the fact. His remark is true, as regards both the unreformed and modern reformed Breviaries of the Church of Rome: but the old English Breviaries did *not* appoint this psalm in the office for that day. The Circumcision seems to have been considered by the Church of Rome rather as a festival of the Blessed Virgin, and the psalms for the first and second Vespers of her festivals, — of which *Lætatus sum* is one,—have been directed to be used at Vespers of the Feast of the Circumcision. The Sarum and York Breviaries, on the contrary, ordered the ordinary festival psalms at Vespers on Sundays to be said also on the Circumcision. Perhaps it is a curious sign of Laud's characteristic temper to speak of the use of this psalm *Lætatus sum* in the past tense only: although such does not exclude the present. It might be, however, that Laud, without examining the English Breviaries, concluded their identity with the Roman. The Sarum office for first and second Vespers is subjoined: the York differs only in unimportant particulars.

"¶ *In vigilia circumcisionis dñi Ad ves. Aña.* Tecum princip. *Psal.* Dixit dñs. *Capm.* Apparuit gratia. *Resp.* Verbum caro. *Et dicitur hic sine prosa. Hymn.* A solis ortu. *Vers.* Tanquam sponsus. *Ant.* Qui de terra. *Ps.* Magnificat. *Oratio.* Deus qui. *Nulla fiat memoria ad has vesp. nec ad matuti. in crasti. Ad completo. Ant.* Nato, *etc.*

¶ *Ad ves. Aña.* Tecum prin. *Ps.* Dixit dñs. *Capm.* Apparuit gratia. *Resp.* Confirmatum est. *Hymn.* A solis. *Vers.* Benedictus qui venit. *An.* Magnum hæreditatis. *Ps.* Magnificat. *Oratio.* Deus qui nobis. *Meō. de sctō Stephano. An.* Tu principatum. *Vers.* Gloria et honore. *Oratio.* Da nobis quæsumus."

In the direction, "*Psal.* Dixit dñs," are to be understood the five psalms commonly said at Vespers on Sundays, viz. "Dixit Dominus. Confitebor tibi. Beatus vir. Laudate pueri. In exitu Israel."—Martene, De Antiq. Eccl. Rit. lib. iv. c. xiii. § 16, tom. iii. p. 40, Antw. 1764, remarks the concurrence of three festivals on the Circumcision; viz. of S. Mary, of the Circumcision, of the Octave of the Nativity. In the Roman Office the former celebration predominates, and the Ps. *Lætatus sum* was selected in this connexion, Jerusalem being considered symbolical of the Virgin's honour in the mystery of the Nativity: in the old English Offices, and in the Sacramentary of Gelasius, (Thomasius, Cod. Sacrament.) the Collect is rather for the Octave, while the present English Collect, following an ancient precedent, more especially commemorates the Circumcision on the 1st of January.]

sion," and a paring off round about of heated and unruly affections in the handling of differences. And there must be a "circumcision," and a paring off of foolish and unlearned questions, yea, and of many modal too, such as are fitter "to engender strife" than godliness, or no peace. This is the way, and no other that I know, to see Jerusalem flourish as a "city at unity within itself," both for State and Church. 2 Tim. ii. 23.

(II.) The second praise of Jerusalem is from the religion of it. "For thither the tribes go up, even the tribes of the Lord, to the testimony of Israel, to give thanks to the name of the Lord."

Jerusalem is very right now; "at unity," and "religious." Oh that it "had known the day of its visitation," and continued so! For at this time "the tribes went up to the Temple." It begins well: for to the Temple, to the Church, to the consecrated place of God's service, is one of the best journeys men of all sorts can make. And you may give a shrewd guess at the devotion of the time by the frequenting of the church. And this their public coming to worship at the Temple was God's express commandment. Therefore assembling and meeting at public service in the church is no human institution, but from God himself. Nor is this ceremony Jewish or ambulatory, to cease with the law and that Temple, but *omnino perpetuum*,—altogether permanent in the Church of Christ,—Christians must to the church and place of service too. Luke xix. 42. Exod. xxiii. 17.

Why, but what are they to do when they come there? What? why Jerusalem was right here too. They "did give thanks to the name of the Lord," and there. It is no good sign when men are to seek what they should do when they come to church. Yet if any man be ignorant my text will inform him: men are there now to do as they did then, "to give thanks to the name of the Lord."

The LXX. and the Vulgar[p] have it, to "confess" to the name of the Lord. It comes all to one. For be the word "thank," or "confess," it stands here expressive of the whole liturgy, of all the public external service of God: all which, if it be not accompanied with the inward service of the heart, is worth nothing. So they went to the Temple, as

[p] [Vid. sup. Not. ad p. 71.]

SERMON III.

we must go to the church, to confess, to pray, to worship, to praise, to give thanks to God, which even under the law was preferred "before sacrifice itself."

Ps. l. 13, 14.

Nor may the wisdom of the world think that to "pray," and to "give thanks" to God, are void actions: for, whatever worldlings think, the Church doth great service to the State while it prays. And it is no hard thing to prove this out of those politicians themselves, which have given the world just cause to think they wrapped up God in their pocket, when they went to council. For their great master[q] confesseth that not a few, but many, things happen to states, *ex fato urgente,* out of such a pressing destiny, that they cannot be prevented, though the remedies be obvious and at hand.

1 Cor. i. 17 [20].

And is it so? Why then, "where is the wisdom of the wise?" Is it not "confounded?" Out of question it is. For you see the remedy is acknowledged to be at hand, and yet not found. This purblind wisdom cannot see it. But to come home to him. This *fatum urgens,* whatever it be, if there be a remedy and at hand, it may be prevented. It is true, it cannot by worldly wisdom only. For *nisi Dominus,*

Ps. cxxvii. 1.

"except the Lord keep the city," all other "watchfulness is in vain." But then allow God that which is fit for Him, due to Him, the highest room at the council table, He will quickly divert this *fatum urgens,* this pressing necessity.

Jonah iii. [4.]

The time was when ruin was travelling so fast towards Nineveh that it came within "forty days" of the city. And it was *fatum urgens,* it came on apace. Did any wise man of that state discover that danger? secure a remedy? Not a man. The prophet preached the danger, and devotion, as blind as it is thought, stumbled upon the remedy, "prayer," and "repentance," things with which worldly wisdom hath little to do. And therefore to pray and give thanks are no empty actions for the State.

Well then,—to pray, to praise, to worship, to give thanks; here is a great deal of service mentioned to God, and yet sure no more than needs. But in the ancient Church of the

[q] [Though no author is specified, the "great master," it is conjectured, may refer to Tacitus, if not to Machiavelli, and perhaps to such passages as "quæ fato manent, quamvis significata, non vitarentur," Histor. lib. i. c. 18; or the expression "urgentibus imperii fatis," German. c. 33. Laud is seldom precise in the literal accuracy of his quotations.]

Jews, was there no reading, no preaching of the Law to inform people? Yes, out of question. They heard "Moses and the prophets," in their synagogues, "every sabbath day," yea, and in the Temple too, if Saint Basil be right. But mark, then: the "original copy of the law," the word of God written in tables of stone, was in the Temple at Jerusalem; and there the priests, which were to "judge according to the law." This law they might and did expound, but they might not cross with it. No preaching in their several synagogues, and parishes, that I may so term them, but was, according to the law, contained in the ark, at the Temple, the Mother Church. And it was fit. For if every man may preach as he list, though he pretend the law and the gospel too, Jerusalem will be quickly out of "unity in itself." And if they leave coming to the "ark and the testimony," the world will soon have as many differences in religion, as there be young, ignorant, and bold priests in parishes.

Acts xiii. 27.

S. Basil.[r] [in loc.]

Deut. xvii. 11.

Now there was a double testimony and convention between God and the people. The law was the witness and covenant on God's part with the people; and that the people should come, and tender their homage and obedience to God and the law, that was the testimony and the covenant of the people with God. God He promised to be present at the ark, and He performed it. And so God is always ready at His end of the covenant. All the fear is, we fall short, and come not as we should, either to hear God's "testimony" to us, or to give "testimony" to the world by our obedience. And herein, as in all things else, Christ be merciful, that brought mercy into the covenant.

Deut. xvi. 16. Exod. xxv. 22. Num. vii. 8, 9.

And you may observe, too, that this coming to the Temple to pray and to worship is called here by the prophet an "ascent," or going up, *ascenderunt;* and an "ascent" it is. It was fitted in the letter: for the Temple at Jerusalem was built upon Mount Moriah; no going up to it but by an "ascent." And it is fit in regard of the material Church now; for how low soever the situation of any of them be, yet it is *motus sursum,* upward still and towards heaven, to frequent the Church. And it is fit in regard of the whole militant

[r] ["*Ad confitendum.* Hoc est: ad agendum gratias, ad colendum, et ad offerendum hostias." — [Pseudo] S. Basil. in loc.]

SERMON III.

Church. That is an "ascent" too, to come out of paganism, heresy, or schism into the Church "at unity in itself." He that "fell among thieves," and was almost killed by the way, was not going up to Jerusalem, but "down to Jericho:" from the Temple, I warrant you. And as Saint Augustine speaks, *si non descendisset, in latrones non incidisset,* "if he had not been sinking and going downwards" from God, and from His Church, "he had not fallen into the hands of thieves."

Luke x. 30.

S. Aug.[s] [in loc.]

But it is most fit in regard of the Church triumphant in heaven; for thither is no going but by "ascending:" "ascending" still out of the dregs of this sinful life. And he is miserably out of this way that sinks farther and farther into sin, and dreams he is in the way to heaven. Nor can any man say, fain I would to heaven, but I want "stairs" to ascend and get up; for this psalm is *psalmus graduum,* a whole "ladder of steps," from the Church here to the Church in heaven.

And it is not unfit neither to express what pains they then were content to take to serve God. For from their remotest habitations, and many were very far off, every male came up thrice a year to the Temple to worship: and "they might not appear before the Lord empty." No pains then too much, no charge too great, to serve God; and notwithstanding both pains and charge *properabant ascendere,* they made haste to come up. Now, the Church is at our doors, and we care not for going into it; and we come up empty

Exod. xxiii. 15.

Apollinar.[t] [in loc.]

[s] ["Luna figurate in Scripturis pro mutabilitate hujus mortalitatis ponitur. Ideo ad Jericho descendebat ille ab Jerusalem qui incurrebat in latrones: quia Jericho civitas est verbum Hebræum, et interpretatur Latine luna. Descendebat ergo tanquam ab immortalitate ad mortalitatem: et merito in itinere vulneratus a latronibus et semivivus relictus est ille Adam, ex quo est totum genus humanum." — S. Augustin. Enarr. in Ps. lx. tom. iv. p. 589. Ed. Benedict.—"Isto Psalmo [sc. cxxv.] exhortati vos fuerimus maxime ad faciendam misericordiam, quia hinc ascenditur: et videtis quia ille cantat Canticum graduum qui ascendit. Mementote, nolite amare descendere, et non ascendere, sed de ascensione cogitate: quia qui descendebat ab Jerusalem in Jericho, incidit in latrones. Non descenderet, et non incideret in latrones. Jam ergo Adam descendit, et incidit in latrones: omnes enim nos Adam sumus."—Id. ibid. in Ps. cxxvi. tom. iv. p. 1427, &c.]

[t] ["Inde Hierusalæ [Hierusalem sacræ (Galland.)] sacra circumstetimus atria:
Hæc ipsi velut civitas ædificabatur honorata:
Circum vero ipsam congregati sunt quicunque prope sunt vicini.
Illuc enim properabant accedere duodecim tribus,
Populorum testimonium divini Israëlis,
Ut celebrent immaculatum nomen divinum."
— Apollin. Metaph. (Lat. Vers.) in Ps. cxxi. (cxxii.) Max. Biblioth. Patrum. Lugduni, 1677, tom. v. p. 583 G, et in Biblioth. Vet. Patr. (Galland.) tom. v. p. 443.]

handed, else it were not possible so many Churches should lie so ruinous as they do. Will you give me leave to tell you the reason of this? It is in my text; when this devotion was on foot, Jerusalem was "at unity in itself;" for so goes the text. "Jerusalem at unity," and then *ascenderunt*, then they ascend by multitudes, and their devotion with them.

And this falls in upon the persons that went up to serve the Lord. And they were the tribes. Not all the "tribes, families, and kindreds of the earth;" no: for the many by idolatry had made themselves strangers to the true God of Israel. But *tribus Domini*, the "tribes of the Lord," they went up, all of them.

The twelve tribes from the patriarchs, the seed of Jacob, were then God's peculiar servants. They were made so in the covenant. The testimony of it was the law. So this honour to be the "tribes of the Lord," God's people, was reserved in the band of religion. If they had not believed, and served God, they had not been His. They might have been "tribes," if you will, without serving in the Temple; but not *Domini*, not of the Lord, but by that service. And they might have been in some kind of "unity;" but not in *Domino*, not in the Lord, but by that union. And they might have been "builded as a city;" but not *ad Dominum*, to the Lord's honour, and their own salvation, but by that faith. And, which was the honour of Jerusalem then in all David's time, and Solomon's too, "all the tribes went up," "all," not a recusant tribe, or person among them.

Now I may not omit the place whither they were to ascend. It was Jerusalem. There the Temple. In that the ark. In that the law. And the law says not simply, that they shall assemble and meet to serve the Lord, but precisely, that they shall do it in the "same place which the Lord shall choose." And the Lord chose Sion, the Temple at Jerusalem, to be "His place." Deut. xvi. 16. 2 Chron. vii. 12.

Would you have a reason why God tied them so strictly to one place? It is not hard to give it. That people were wonderfully prone to idolatry; therefore saith Saint Basil, S. Basil.[u] [in loc.]

[u] ["Omnes in ea congregabantur. Non enim licebat alibi panegyres celebrare, sed illic colligebantur. Hoc autem propter cognitionem Dei retinendam fiebat, ne ubilibet errando ad cultum simulacrorum deflecterent."—[Pseudo] S. Basil. in loc. tom. iii. p. 312. Ed. Basil. 1565.]

SERMON III.

"God tied them to one place of worship, lest wandering here and there in strange places, they might fall into the service of strange gods." And mark it, God would then have but one temple erected, one altar, in one city, that the people might not fall asunder into different superstitions, and leave true religion least followed. And the Jews seeing the command, never halted in this duty so long as Jerusalem was "at unity in itself." But when that brake, all misery began. For no sooner had Jeroboam made a rent in this unity, and torn away ten tribes from the house of David, but by and by Samaria is as good as Jerusalem; and the "calves in Dan and Bethel," as good as "that God that brought them out of the land of Egypt." So dangerous a thing it is, when unity and God's command are broken together.

3 [1] Kings xii. 28.

[in loc.]

The Jesuit Lorinus[x] tells us, "there are better causes to persuade us now to go on pilgrimage *ad limina Petri,* and the Jubilees at Rome, than the tribes had here to go to Jerusalem." What? "better causes?" The Jews had God's express commandment to go to Jerusalem, and the form of worship that was there. And what better warrant can any man, or any people have, than God's command? Let him or any other show me such a command, that all the whole Church of Christ, all the tribes which now serve the Lord, must come in person, or consent and do it at Rome, we will never stay for Lorinus's "better" reasons. We will take God's command for a good one, and obey it. But they must not think to choke us with the wool that grows upon *pasce oves,* which as the Fathers have diversely spun out, so no one of them comes home to the clothing of Rome, with such a large robe of state as she challengeth. And this in the mean time will be found true;—that while they seek to tie all Christians to Rome, by a divine precept, their ambition of sovereignty is one and a main cause, that Jerusalem, even the whole Church of Christ, is not "at unity in itself" this day.

John xxi. 16.

[x] ["Quæ autem his similes, et meliores, causæ suadent conventus synodales, peregrinationes ad Petri limina, tum vero quæ vocantur Jubilæi, coitiones Religiosorum, quas vocant Congregationes, et Capitula." —Lorinus in Ps. cxxi. tom. iii. p. 575.]

(III.) Now beside the honour and service done to God, the people had many other benefits by coming up, and meeting at Jerusalem. Many, but one more especially. And that comes into the third commendation of Jerusalem; the government both spiritual and temporal. "For there also are the seats of judgment, even the seats of the house of David." So they might serve themselves at "the seats of justice," while they went to the Temple to serve God.

In the "ascending" it was *illuc*, thither. And here at the "sitting" it is *illic*, there. One and the same city honoured with God, His Church, and the King. And it must needs be so. For these three, God, the King, and the Church, that is, God, His Spouse, and His Lieutenant upon earth, are so near allied,—God and the Church in love, God and the King in power, the King and the Church in mutual dependence upon God, and subordination to Him,—that no man can serve any one of them truly, but he serves all three.

And surely it was in a blessed figure, that God's house and the King's stood together at Jerusalem. The Temple, if I mistake not, upon the east, and the palace of Solomon upon the south side of the same mountain, to shew that their servants and service must go together too; that no man might think himself the farther from God by serving the King, nor the farther from the King by serving God. The King's power is God's ordinance, and the King's command must be God's glory; and the honour of the subject is obedience to both. And therefore in the law the same command that lay upon the people to come up, *illuc*, thither, to Jerusalem; the very same lay upon them to obey the Judges, and the house of David, *illic*, when they came there: to obey the "Sanhedrim and the Judges," and both them and the King, after the house of David was settled, as in this place. For then there was seated, as divers of the Fathers and later divines observe, both "authorities;" both of the priests, and of the King and his judges. So the first lesson which the people do, or should, learn by going up to the

Deut. xvii. 10.

S. Basil.[y] Theodoret.[z]

[y] [Vid. sup. Not. ad p. 5.]

[z] [προθεσπίσας τὰ θεῖα, προθεσπίζει καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπεια· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις οὐ μόνον ὁ θεῖος ᾠκοδομήθη νεὼς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ βασίλεια, κ. τ. λ.—(Cf. Not. ad p. 5.) Theodoret. in loc. tom. i. p. 913. Ed. Sirmond.]

SERMON III.

Euthym.[a] Calvin.[b] Musc.[c] Jun.[d] [in loc.]

Temple, is obedience to both spiritual and temporal authority, but especially to "the house of David."

Well, then, *illic*, there were the "seats" or "thrones of judgment." Of all things that are necessary for State none runs so generally through it, as "justice and judgment." Every part and member of a kingdom needs it. And it is not possible Jerusalem should be long "at unity in itself," if "justice and judgment" do not uphold it. And it is in vain for any man, whether he be in authority, or under it, to talk of religion and God's service, to frequent the Temple, if he do not, in the course of his life, exercise and obey "justice and judgment." And this lesson religion ever teacheth. For it was the very end of Christ's coming

Luke i. 75.

to redeem us, "that we might serve Him in holiness and in righteousness." In "holiness" toward God, that is first; and then in "righteousness and justice" towards men, that is next. And they stand so, that the one is made the proof of the other; "righteousness" of "holiness." For he that doth but talk of holiness, and doth unjustly therewhile, is but an hypocrite.

This for "justice" the preservative of "unity." Now for the "seats" of it. They which are appointed to administer "justice and judgment" to the people, have "thrones," or "chairs," or "seats,"—call them what you will, the thing is the same,—out of which they give sentence upon persons or causes brought before them. And they are signs of authority and power which the judges have. And it is not for nothing that they are called "seats." For judgment was ever given in public, "sitting." And there is good reason for it. For the soul and mind of man is not so settled when

[a] ["*Sedes super domum David.* Hoc est in domo, seu, in palatio David: vel, primo loco sedes sacerdotum dixit, secundo autem loco regias sedes."—Euthym. in loc. p. 242. Ed. Veron. 1530.]

[b] ["Nempe quia in regno et sacerdotio inclusa erat totius Ecclesiæ salus."—Calvin in Ps. cxxii. Comment. p. 478.]

[c] ["Deinde commendant hanc civitatem propter sedem judiciariam et regiam domus Davidis. Potest autem hic versus sic exponi, ut quod dicunt, *Quia illic collocata sunt tribunalia ad judicandum,* intelligatur de judicio sacerdotum, quod secundum legis præceptum exercebatur. Et quod subjiciunt, *tribunalia domus Davidis,* pertineat ad gubernationem regiam."—Explanatio Ps. cxxii. ver. 3—5. Commentar. in Psalterium per Wolfgang. Musculum, p. 998. Basileæ, 1618.]

[d] ["*Quoniam ibi consident throni juris, i.e.* juridica omnis administratio tum ecclesiastica, tum civilis."—Junius et Tremellius in Ps. cxxii.]

the body is in motion. For the body moved moves the humours; and the humours moved move the affections; and affections moved are not the fittest to do "justice and judgment." No; reason in a calm, unmoved, is fittest for that.

Noneadem videntur Judicibus iratis et quietis. Aristot lib. ii. Rhet. c. 1.[e]

Now the "seats" stand here both for the "seats" themselves;—and so *sederunt sedes* is active for passive, "the seats sate," for, the "seats are placed;"—or for the judges that sit in them; or *sederunt*, id est, *permanserunt*, for the perpetuity and fixing of the "seats of justice." The "seats" must be in some reverence for the persons that sit in them. The persons must have their honour for the office they perform in them. And the "seats" must be fixed and permanent, that the people which are fallen into controversy, may know the *illic*, and the *ubi*, whither to come and find "justice." The words in my text are plural, "seats of judgment." And it is observable. For the exorbitances of men that quarrel others are such and so many, that one "seat of judgment" only was scarce ever sufficient for any State. "Seats" they must be, and they seldom want work. In the prime times of the Church, Christians could not hold from "going to law one with another, and that under unbelievers." To meet with this frailty of man, God in this commonwealth which Himself ordered, appointed not one, but many "seats of judgment." And therefore even the inferior "seats," howsoever as they are settled by the King and the State, severally to fit the nature of the people in several kingdoms, are of positive and human institution; yet as they are "seats of judgment," they have their foundation upon divine institution too, since "there is no power but of God."

1 Cor. vi. 6.

Tostat in Exod. xxi. q. 16.[f] Pet. Cunæus de Rep. Hebr. lib. i. c. 12.[g]

Rom. xiii.

[e] [τὸ δὲ διακεῖσθαί πως τὸν ἀκροατὴν, εἰς τὰς δίκας· οὐ γὰρ ταὐτὰ φαίνεται φιλοῦσι καὶ μισοῦσιν, οὐδ' ὀργιζομένοις καὶ πρᾴως ἔχουσιν· ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ παράπαν ἕτερα, ἢ κατὰ μέγεθος ἕτερα.—Aristot. Rhet. lib. ii. cap. 1. β'.]

[f] ["In qualibet civitate erant judices, qui sedebant in portis, et illi determinabant omnes causas tam civiles quam criminales cujuscunque essent, et super illos erant alii judices superiores, scilicet septuaginta seniores, qui vocantur Hebraice Concilium Canhedrim, et isti residebant in Jerusalem, vel in alio quolibet loco, in quo staret tabernaculum Domini. Et inter hos erat præcipuus summus judex summus sacerdos, de quibus aliqualiter patet *Deut.* xvii."—Alphonsi Tostati in Exodum Comment. tom. ii. p. 354. B. Coloniæ. 1613.]

[g] ["Eam sedem illis [sc. Sanhedrin] summus Moses assignaverat. Convenire enim eos in locum jussit, quem elegisset Deus, uti nomen illic Suum adoraretur a populo. Ab his provocatio non erat. Quicquid decidere cæteri magistratus judicesque in Palæstinæ oppidis atque in ipsa urbe Hierosolyma nequibant, id omne ad horum jurisdictionem pertinuit."—P. Cunæus de Republ. Hebr. lib. ii. c. 12, p. 70. Ed. Amstelod. 1666.]

SERMON III.

By these "seats of justice and judgment," the learned in all ages understand all judiciary power and administration, both ecclesiastical and civil; and they are right.

For the Sanhedrim of the Jews, their greatest "seat of judgment" under the King, after they had that government, was a mixed court of priests and judges, both for causes and persons; though other kingdoms since, and upon reason enough, have separated and distinguished the seats of ecclesiastical and civil judicature.

Deut. xvii.

Pet. Cunæus de Rep. Hebr. lib. i. p. 101. et 106.[h]

Since this division of the "seats of judgment," there was a time when the ecclesiastical took too much upon them. Too much indeed, and lay heavy not only upon ordinary civil courts, but even upon the "house of David," and throne of the King himself. But God ever from the days of Lucifer gave pride a fall; and pride, of all sins, least beseems the Church. May we not think that for that she fell? But I pray remember, it was *fastus Romanus*, it was "Roman pride," that then infected this Church, with many others.

The time is now come in this kingdom, that the civil courts are as much too strong for the ecclesiastical, and may overlay them as hard, if they will be so unchristian as to revenge. But we hope they which sit in them will remember, or, at the least, that the "house of David" will not forget, that when God Himself, and He best knows what He doth for the "unity of Jerusalem," erected "seats of judgment," He was so far from ecclesiastical anarchy, that He set the High-Priest very high in the Sanhedrim. And ecclesiastical and Church causes must have their trial and ending as well as others.

I know there are some that think the Church is not yet far enough beside the cushion; that their "seats" are too easy yet, and too high too. A "parity" they would have; no Bishop, no Governor, but a parochial Consistory, and that should be lay enough too. Well, first, this "parity" was never left to the Church by Christ. He left Apostles, and disciples under them. No "parity." It was never in use with the Church since Christ; no Church ever, anywhere, till this last age, without a Bishop. If it were in use, it might

[h] ["In concilium magnum [sc. Sanhedrin] non modo cives primariæ nobilitatis, quod jam diximus, sed Levitæ quoque sacerdotesque allecti sunt."—P. Cunæus, ut sup. p. 81.]

perhaps govern some petty city; but make it common once, and it can never keep unity in the Church of Christ. And for their "seats" being too high, God knows they are brought low, even to contempt. They were high in Jerusalem. For all divines agree that this in prime reference is spoken of "ecclesiastical censures," and "seats." And the word is "thrones;" no less. So the original, so the Septuagint, and so many of the later divines, nay the anabaptists themselves,[n] forgetting their own invention of the Presbytery.

Calvin.[i] Muscul.[k] Jun.[l] Versio Genev.[m] Ainsworth.[n] [in loc.]

And one thing more I will be bold to speak out of a like duty to the Church of England, and the "house of David." They, whoever they be, that would overthrow *sedes Ecclesiæ*, the "seats of ecclesiastical government," will not spare, if ever they get power, to have a pluck at the "throne of David." And there is not a man that is for "parity,"—all fellows in the Church,—but he is not for monarchy in the State. And certainly either he is but half-headed to his own principles, or he can be but half-hearted to the "house of David."

And so we are come to the last, the great circumstance of the text, "the house of David;" the guide and the ground too, under God, of that "unity" which blesses Jerusalem. The "house," that is, not the house only, but the government. All regal and judiciary power was seated by God Himself in David and his posterity: that he, as King over his people, might take care, both that Jerusalem might be at "unity in itself," and that the "Tribes of the Lord might go thither

2 Sam. vii. 10. et Ps. lxxxix. 36.

[i] ["Unde sequitur non minus crudeles esse quam impios quibus susque deque est Ecclesiæ status: nam si columna et firmamentum veritatis est Ecclesia, ejus interitu pietatem quoque extingui necesse est."—Calvin, ut sup. p. 80.]

[k] [Musculus. See above, Note at p. 80.]

[l] [Junius. See above, Note at p. 80.]

[m] ["Jerusalem is builded as a city that is compact together in itself: whereunto the tribes, even the tribes of the Lord, go up, according to the testimony to Israel, to praise the name of the Lord. For there are thrones set for judgment, even the thrones of the house of David." — Ps. cxxii. 3. Geneva version.]

[n] ["Jerusalem builded; as a citie, that is joyned to itself togither. Whither the tribes goe up, the tribes of Jah, to the testimonie of Israel: to confess unto the name of Jehovah. For there are set thrones for judgment: thrones of the house of David." —Ps. cxxii. 3—5. Such is Ainsworth's translation; but it is only fair to add, that his annotation by no means supports Laud's inference. "Ver. 5, *are set.*] or, *sit thrones*, that is, *they stand*, or, *remain still;* or, *are set;* active for passive, as *Psal.* xxxvi. 3. *Of the house*] or, for the house, that is, the posteritie, as *Psal.* cxv. 10. The Chaldee sayth, *for the Kings of the house of David.*" — Ainsworth's Annotations on the Psalms, in loc.]

SERMON III.

to give thanks to the name of the Lord;" that all the servants of God among that people might know, that God had committed them to the trust of David; that they might not promise themselves succour from God, otherwise than as they lived in obedience to David; that they might not think to alter the government, or the succession, but rest dutifully where God had placed them. And therefore when Jeroboam rent ten Tribes from the house of David, almost nothing but distraction and misery fell upon that people ever after, as appears in the story.

This to the letter strictly. Now to the sense at large, as both Church and State have subordination to the house of David. For "Jerusalem, that is at unity" under David—and "the Tribes they go up to the testimony" under David—and the "seats of judgment," they have their several ministrations,—but all with reference, all in obedience, to "the house of David."

Now in a state, the King *obtinet locum fundamenti*, is always fundamental. All inferior powers of nobles, judges, and magistrates rest on him. And yet the Holy Ghost doth not say in my text, that the "seats of judgment" are upon the foundation of David, but upon the "house of David." And the reason is plain; because there is one and the same "foundation" of the King and his people, that is, God and Christ. But when the house of the King is built upon God, as David's was, then it is to the people, *et domus et fundamentum*, both an house and a foundation of all their houses.

And that you may see the truth of this, look into the story of all States, and you shall never find a thunderclap upon the house of David to make it shake, but the houses of all the subjects in the kingdom shook with it. And this is an evident argument that the "house of David" is a "foundation," when such a mighty building as a State is shaken with it. And therefore, there is no man that loves his own house, but he must love the King's, and labour and study to keep it from shaking.

And if you mark the text, here is, *sedes super sedem*, one "throne," or "seat," upon another. And all well-ordered states are built so by *sub* and *super*, by "government" and "obedience." The intermediate magistrates have their subor-

dinations either to other, and all to David. But the "house of David," that is both *sub* and *super*; under the rest in the "foundation," for so the Septuagint, and the Fathers read it, ἐπὶ οἶκον, upon the house of David; so the "house of David" under, as "foundation;" but over the rest in the administration and the government; for they which are upon him, must not be above him. A primacy, or superintendency, or what you will, above the house of David in his own kingdom, is a dangerous and an ill construction of *super domum David*.

The "house of David" a "foundation" then; and my text warrants both it and me. I have no will to except against any form of government, assumed by any state; yet this my text bids me say for the honour of monarchical government, the "seats of judgment" in it are permanent; and I do not remember that ever I read "seats of judgment" so fixed as under regal power.

I do not by this deny, but that there may be the city in peace, and administration of justice in other forms of government, sometimes as much, sometimes more; but there are *judicia*, not "*sedes*," "judgment," not "seats," of it. And justice there may be; but it continues not half so steady. The factions of an aristocracy how often have they divided the city into civil wars, and made that city which was "at unity in itself," wade in her own blood? And for a democracy, or popular government, *fluctus populi fluctus maris*, the waves and gulfs of both are alike. None but God can "rule the raging of the sea, and the madness of the people." And no safety or settledness, till there be a return *in domum David*, to a monarchy, and a King again. Ps. lxv. 7.

I will go no whither but to my text and Jerusalem for instance. The people had a Sanhedrim over them, a wonderful wise and a great senate; the chief of the priests, and the most expert in their laws of the other tribes. If any greater difficulty arose, God raised up judges and deliverers to fight their battles. This people were well, a man would think, for point of government, very well. And yet Calvin observes, Calvin.[n] [in loc.

[o] ["Illa loci statio non parvi momenti fuit: quia sicuti vagante area, fides populi suspensa fuit: sic postquam Deus elegit certum domicilium, certius testatus est Se æternum fore populi custodem."—Calvin, ut sup.—Cf. ejusd. Homil. xxvii. in 1 Sam. viii.]

SERMON III.

and it is true, though they had then "justice and judgment" among them, yet they were but *suspensa judicia et varie mutata*, "justice with suspense and often changes." And which is more, that people restless and unquiet, even with the ordinances of God Himself, till they had a King. So after
1 Sam. viii. [5.] the disobedience of Saul, which can cast even Kings out of God's favour, that state was settled upon the "house of David."

The King, then, a "foundation," and a settled one too, as mortality hath any. The whole frame of the commonwealth, understood here by the "seats of judgment," rests upon the strength of his "house." Upon his "house?" therefore, it must be built and settled; else it is not *domus*, not a house; when it is built, it must be furnished, and plentifully too; else it is not fit to be *domus Davidis*, the King's house. If any disaster hath been, it must be repaired; else *domus lacera*, a house upon props, can be no "foundation of justice" to friends at home, or upon enemies abroad. And there can hardly be a greater misery to a kingdom, than to have the "house of David" weak.

Well then, would you have "the house of David" as David's was now at Jerusalem, a built, a furnished, a strong, an honourable "house?" I know you would. You are a noble and a most loyal people. Why, then, I will not take upon me to teach, but only to remember you of the way. The way is;—am I out? No sure,—the way is, to set David once upon his own feet; to make him see the strength of the "house" which God hath given him; to fill him with joy and contentment in his people's love; to add of your oil to make him a cheerful countenance, now that God hath
[Ps. xlv. 8.] "anointed him with the oil of gladness" over you; that in a free estate he may have leisure from home-cares, every way to intend the good and welfare of his people; and to bless God for them, and them in God.

And for David, God hath blessed him with many royal virtues. And, above the rest, with the knowledge that his "house" is a "foundation." A "foundation" of his people, and of all the justice that must preserve them in unity, and in happiness. But it is *domus ejus*, "his house," still, even while it is your "foundation." And never fear

him, for God is with him. He will not depart from God's service; nor from the honourable care of his people; nor for wise managing of his treasure; he will never undermine his own "house," nor give his people just cause to be jealous of a shaking "foundation." And here in the presence of God and his blessed Angels, as well as of you, which are but dust and ashes, I discharge the true thoughts of my heart, and flatter not. And now, my dread Sovereign, upon you it lies to make good the thoughts of your most devoted servant. SERMON III.

Thus you have seen as short a map as I could draw of Jerusalem. She was famous for her "unity," and blessed too, when it was "within herself." She was famous for her "religion," and devout too, when "all the tribes went up to the ark of the testimony, to give thanks to the name of the Lord." She was famous for "justice," and successful too, both at home, and against foreign enemies, when the "seats of judgment," ecclesiastical and civil, were all, as their several natures bear, founded upon the "house of David."

This Jerusalem of ours is now "at unity in itself." And I see here *capita Tribuum*, the heads and leaders of the tribes, and people of the Lord, come up, and present in His temple. I would to God they were all here, that with one heart, and one mouth, we might all pray unto God for all His blessings to come down, and dwell in the "house of David;" and to rest upon this great and honourable council now ready to sit.

You are come up to begin at the "temple" of the Lord. The ark was wholly ceremonial; that is not here. But the "testimony of Israel," the law, yea and a better law than that, the law of grace and of Christ, that is here. Here it is, and open ready to teach "the fear of the Lord," which is "the beginning of all wisdom." In this law you can read nothing but service to God, and obedience to the "house of David." And so you find them joined, "fear God and honour the King." And it is a strange fallacy in religion for any man to "dishonour the King," and to make that a proof that he "fears God." Ps. cxi. 10. 1 Pet. ii. 17.

To the temple and the testimony you are come up. When

SERMON III.

God would give Moses more special direction, He declared Himself from the "mercy seat," which was on the "ark." The "mercy seat" was wholly ceremonial, as the "ark" was on which it stood; that is, the "seat," ceremony, but the "mercy," substance. And though the "seat" be gone with Moses, yet I hope God hath not left, will never leave, to appear in "mercy" to the "house of David," and this wise council. If He appear in "mercy," I fear nothing. If He appear otherwise, there will be cause to fear all things. And the way to have God appear in "mercy," is for both King and people, not only to come to the temple, that is but the outside of religion, but also to obey "the law, and the testimony."

Exod. xxv. 22.

"Judgment" went out from God lately, and it was fierce. How many thousand strong men, which might have been a wall about Jerusalem, hath the pestilence[p] swept away? But His "mercy" soon overtook His "judgment." For when did the eye of man behold so strange and sudden abatement of so great "mortality?" A great argument that He will now appear in "mercy." And I cannot tell which hath got the better in the vie,[q] your honour or your religion,

[p] ["There died now in London, from June 30 to July 7, in one week, 1,222, of which the bills set down 593 to have died of the plague." Sir Simonds D'Ewes' Journal, &c. (Halliwell) vol. i. p. 273.

"In this month of July began the observation and weekly celebration of a public fast and humiliation in respect of the extreme increasing of the pestilence, of which there died in London, from July 21 to July 27, 2,491: it was continued each Wednesday, until the end of October, generally throughout England."—Ibid. p. 278.

"There died in London of the pestilence, from Aug. 11 to Aug. 18, 4,463, which was the greatest number that died in any one week this year."—Ibid.

A contemporary writer describes this pestilence as "the greatest that ever was known in the nation:" White Kennet, in his History, (vol. iii. p. 12,) states the numbers of deaths from this plague in London alone at 35,417.—See also Ellis's Letters, vol. iii.—A general fast was held in London by both houses, on the royal proclamation, issued at the instance of the Lords and Commons, on Saturday, July 2, 1625, and on Wednesday, July 20, throughout the kingdom. The thanksgiving for the abatement of the plague, according to a form prepared by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London, Durham, Rochester, and St. Davids, was celebrated on Sunday, January 29, in London, and on February 19 throughout the kingdom.

Sir Heneage Finch, as Speaker, in "a very flourishing speech, with some extraordinary flights and figures, that were a peculiar infirmity of that age, and more especially of that person," (White Kennet,) on the assembling of this, King Charles's Second, Parliament, commemorates "the public humiliation, when God's hand lay heavy upon us, and the late public thanksgiving to Almighty God, for removing His hand, both commanded and performed in person by your Majesty, is a work in piety not to be forgotten."—Rushworth, vol. i. p. 205.]

[q] [This word, very uncommon as a substantive, is quoted twice in a simi-

that you have made such haste to bring the "tribes to the Temple, to give thanks to the name of the Lord," for this. SERMON III.

The first lesson of this day's evening prayer is Exod. xviii. There is the story of Jethro's counsel to Moses, for assistance of inferior officers. This was not the beginning of that great and parliamentary council, which after continued successful in the state of the Jews. For that was set after by God Himself, yet I make no great doubt, but that the ease, which Moses found by that council, made him apt to see what more he needed; and, so far at least, occasioned the settling of the Sanhedrim. Exod. xviii. Num. xi. 16.

I take the omen of the day, and the service of the Church to bless it,—That our David may be as happy in this, and all other sessions of Parliament, as their Moses was in his council of the elders. That the King and his people may now, and at all like times, meet in love, consult in wisdom, manage their council with temper, entertain no private business to make the public suffer; and when their consultation is ended, part in the same love that should ever bring King and people together.

And let us pray,—That our Jerusalem, both Church and State, which did never but flourish when it was "at unity in itself," may now and ever continue in that "unity," and so be ever successful both at home and abroad. That in this unity the "tribes of the Lord," even all the families and kindreds of His people, may come up to the Church, to pray, and praise, and give thanks unto Him. That no tribe or person for any pretences, for they are no better, may absent themselves from the Church and testimony of the Lord. That the "seats of judgment," ecclesiastical and civil, of all sorts, may not only be set, but set firmly, to administer the justice of God, and the King, unto his people. That all men may reverence and obey the "house of David," who itself, upon God, is the foundation of all these blessings. That God would mutually bless David, and this people. That so the people may have cause to give thanks to God for David;

lar sense from Holland's translation of Plutarch, by Richardson, in his Dictionary, vol. ii. p. 2017. "He strived a *vie* to prevent him," &c. Both the editions of Laud's Sermons, the 4to. of 1625, and the collected editions of 1651, read it thus, "vie;"—not, as might have been suspected, a misprint for "view."]

SERMON III.

and that David may have cause to take joy in the love and loyalty of his people; and bless God for both: till from this "Jerusalem," and this "temple," and these "thrones," he and we all may ascend into that glorious state which is in heaven. And this Christ for His infinite mercy sake grant unto us: To Whom, &c.

A

SERMON

PREACHED

before His MAIESTIE

On Sunday the xix. *of Iune,*

At WHITE-HALL,

Appointed to be preached at the opening of the PARLIAMENT.

By the Biſhop of S. DAVIDS.

LONDON,
Printed by BONHAM NORTON and IOHN BILL,
Printers to the Kings most Excellent Maiesty.
M.DC.XXV.

[The entries in the Diary, anno 1625, relating to this Sermon, are :—

"April 1, Friday.—[Five days after the death of King James,] I received letters from the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain to the King, and therein a command from his Majesty, King Charles, to preach a Sermon before himself, and the House of Peers, in the Session of Parliament, to be held on the 17th day of May, next following.

"May 17.—The Parliament was put off till the last day of May.

"May 31, Tuesday.—The Parliament was a second time put off till Monday, the 13th of June.

"June 13, Monday.—The Parliament, waiting for the King's coming [from Canterbury, where he had gone to fetch his Queen], adjourned again till Saturday, the 18th of June.

"June 18, Saturday.—The first Parliament of King Charles, which had been so often put off, now began. There were present at the opening of it, the Duke of Shiveruz,[a] with other French noblemen; a Bishop,[b] also, who attended the Queen. For fear of the pestilence, which then began to be very rife, the King omitted the pomp usual upon that day, lest the great conflux of people should be of ill consequence. And the Sermon, which had been imposed upon me, to be preached in Westminster Abbey, at the beginning of this Session, was put off to the next day, that is, to

"June 19.—First Sunday after Trinity, on which day I preached it in the Chapel, at Whitehall."

Compare Heylyn's somewhat inaccurate account, cited in the Preliminary Note to Sermon III.]

---

[a] "Duc de Chevereux," (Lord Kensington to Prince Charles, Ellis's Letters, First Series, vol. iii. p. 178.) This nobleman acted as proxy for King Charles, at his espousals of Henrietta Maria, in Paris.

[b] "The Bishop of Montpellier comes governor of her Majesty's chapel," (D'Ewes' Journal, (Halliwell,) vol. ii. p. 172). This is a mistake; it was Du Plessis, consecrated Bishop of Mende, (Ecclesiæ Mimatensis,) February 19, 1625, who accompanied the Queen as almoner (Gallia Christiana, tom. i. p. 107). Fenoillet, an intimate of Francis of Sales, was Bishop of Montpellier (Ecclesiæ Monspelliensis) from 1608 to 1652. (Ibid. tom. vi. pp. 818—821.)

SERMON IV.

PREACHED BEFORE HIS MAJESTY, ON SUNDAY, THE 19TH OF JUNE, 1625, AT WHITE-HALL. APPOINTED TO BE PREACHED AT THE OPENING OF THE PARLIAMENT. [Ed. 1651.]

PSALM lxxv. 2, 3.

"*When I shall receive the congregation,* or, when I shall take a convenient time, *I will judge according unto right. The earth is dissolved,* or, melted, *and all the inhabitants thereof; I bear up the pillars of it.*"

SERMON IV.

THIS psalm is accounted a kind of dialogue between God and the Prophet; for David sometimes speaks in his own person, and sometimes in God's. Some think the time, when he sung this psalm, was, when he was now ready to be crowned King over Israel, as well as Judah. The occasion of this his solemn devotion was, not only the care which he had of the world in general, "the earth;" but much more, and much nearer the care which he took of the kingdom of Israel, now committed by God unto his government. That kingdom was then filled with civil combustions; and the Church, as it uses to be in a troubled State, was out of order too. 2 Kings [Sam.] v.

The learned, both the Fathers and the latter divines, differ much about my text. For some will read it "time;" and some, "the congregation." And the best is, there is warrantable authority for both. Again, some will have it, that this speech, "I will judge according unto right," is David's promise to God, of his just administration of the kingdom; and some, that it is God's promise to David, of His grace

SERMON IV.

and assistance, to enable him so to govern. If it be God's speech, they are not all agreed, neither whether it be meant of His temporary execution of judgment in this life; or of His great and final judgment. Nor do they all agree, whether by the "earth," he meant the whole "world," and the "Church" spread over it; or the "kingdom of the Jews," and the "Church," as then contained in it. But the matter is not great. For the Scripture is not only true, but full, in all these senses; and all of them come in close upon the letter of the text. And therefore, for aught I know, it is the safest way, which shuts out nothing that the text includes. And my text will easily take in all, if you consider the words as David's speech; yet so, as that one way David be understood to speak in his own person; and another way in God's.

And this is no news. For usually in the Psalms, one and the same speech is meant of David and Christ; and one and the same action applied to God and the King. And the reason of this is plain; for the King is God's immediate lieutenant upon earth; and therefore one and the same action is God's by ordinance, and the King's by execution. And the power which resides in the King is not any assuming to himself, nor any gift from the people, but God's power, as well in, as over, him.

Rom. xiii. 1.

So God and the King stand very near together. And it is an infinite blessing both upon the King and the people, when the King's heart keeps as near unto God, as God's power is to the King. For then it is but reading of my text, and you both see and enjoy the blessing presently.

For then the "congregation" that comes up, the "great congregation,"—"great" in number, "great" in place, and "great" in power—it shall not lose its labour: for "I will receive it," saith God; "and I," saith the King. The congregation, whether it be to serve God, or the State, or both, comes up at an appointed time; and, "I will make a convenient time for it," saith God; and "I will take a convenient time for it," saith the King. "When I have received it," and in this time, "I will judge" in it, and by it, "according unto right," saith God;" "and I," saith the King. If "justice and judgment" be not executed, the "earth will

dissolve," the kingdoms will melt away, all things will "sink and fall;" but "I will bear up the pillars of it," saith God; "and I," saith the King. If the "earth dissolve," the militant Church, which dwells upon it, "shakes" presently; it must needs bear part with the State in which it is; but "I will bear up the pillars of that" too, saith God; "and I," saith the King. So blessed a thing it is, where God and the King keep near, and work together.

The text hath two parts. The one is the state of the "earth," of the kingdoms, and the "inhabiters" thereof; and they, when the prophet wrote this, were in weak estate, "melted," and "dissolved." The other is the remedy, which God and the King will take to settle it. And concerning this remedy, here are three things expressed. First, the execution of justice, "I will judge according unto right." Secondly, the establishment, or settling of the pillars, "I bear up the pillars of it." Thirdly, the time for both these, and that is "a convenient time," even "when He shall receive the congregation."

I begin at the state in which David, when he came to the crown, found the "earth," the world in general; the kingdom of Judah in particular, and the Church of God.

And surely my text gives me no hope, but *liquefacta est*, weakness, dissolution, and melting in them all. ἐτάκη. [LXX.]

For the world first, that so far as the Assyrian monarchy prevailed, in those days of David, "melted" between riot and cruelty. And the rest of the world which was not under them, was broken and dissolved into petty dynasties and governments, which did nothing almost but prey one upon another. And for the kingdom of Judah, the special aim of my text, that "melted" in the great disobedience of Saul, and after that in civil dissensions between David and Ishbosheth, the son of Saul, for divers years together. 1 Kings, [Sam.] xv. 23. And as for the Church, that had no public room then given it but in Judea: and there it could not stand fast when the "earth melted" under it. And we find toward the end of Saul, eighty-five priests were put to the sword at once, and unjustly all. 1 Kings, [Sam.] xxii. [18.] And the Church cannot choose but "melt" when her priests are slain: for the speediest "melting" that is, is to "melt" in blood.

SERMON IV.

Now this "melting," whether it be in State or Church, is no small thing. For the Scripture, when it would express a great calamity upon men or kingdoms, uses the word, "melting," or "dissolving." And that shows that their honour and strength drops away and decays till they become as nothing, or quite another thing. In trouble, the "heart of David melted like wax." When their enemies prevailed, the heart of the people "melted like water." In the time of vengeance, the ungodly of the earth shall "melt and consume away like a snail," and that is "melting" indeed: put but a little salt upon a snail, and he will drop out of his house presently.

Ps. xxii. 18 [14]. Josh. vii. 5. Ps. lviii. 7.

"Melting," then, is a great calamity upon a kingdom. And it is not Judah only, but all kingdoms of the earth are subject to "melting." The many changes of the world have preached this over and over: that whatsoever hath earth to the foundation, is subject to "dissolution." And the sermon is still made upon this text, *terra liquefacta est*, the earth is "dissolved."

Now usually before "melting" there goes a "heat:" and so it was. A "fire" first, and then the "melting of Israel." There neither is, nor can be, any kingdom but it hath many "heats." These are most felt by them that are at the "working" of the State. But these are all quite above me, save to pray for their temper: and I will not further meddle with them. "Heats" then there are, but all "heats" are not by and by a furnace, nor are all furnaces able to "melt" and "dissolve" States. No, God forbid.

Hos. viii. 14.

Not all, but yet some there are that can "melt" any kingdom, especially two. The one of these "heats" is sin, great and multiplied sin. For saith Saint Augustine,[a] *delinquere est de liquido fluere*; to "sin" is to "melt" and drop away from all steadiness in virtue, from all foundation of justice. And here a State "melts" inward, there is little seen yet. The other is God's "punishment" for these sins. For that makes "empty cities," and a "desolate land." And there a State "melts" outwardly, and in view.

[in loc.]

Ezek. xii. 20.

[a] ["*Defluxit terra.* Si defluxit terra, unde defluxit, nisi peccatis? Ideo et delicta dicuntur. Delinquere est, tanquam de liquido quodam defluere, a stabilitate firmamenti virtutis atque justitiæ."—S. Augustin. Enarr. in Ps. lxxiv. tom. iv. p. 786. Ed. Benedict.]

And by this we have found what, and Who it is that, melts great and glorious kingdoms. In the text there is no more than *liquefacta est*, the earth is dissolved; not a word by whom, or for what. But it is expressed that it is by God. Ver. 7. And it is too well known that it is for sin, and for great sin too. For as there goes sin before God "heats," so there go great and multiplied sins before God makes His "fire" so hot, as to "melt" or dissolve a kingdom. The sins of the Amorite "not yet full," therefore not yet cast into the "melting" pot: but so soon as their sins were full, their State "melted." The "fruit of it from above, and the root of it from beneath," all destroyed. And this was not the Amorite's case only, for all stories are full of it: that when States have "melted" into wanton and lustful sins, they have not long after dissolved into desolation. For, as Saint Hierome observes, that course God holds with impious and impenitent kingdoms, as well as men, *absque discretione personarum*, without any difference of persons, or places.

Gen. xv. 16.

Amos ii. 9.

In Amos ix.[b] [ix. 8.]

Well; when it is *terra liquefacta*, when a kingdom "dissolves" and "melts," what then? What? why then no man is in safety till it settle again; not a man. For the text goes on, "the earth is dissolved, and all that dwell therein." All men then to seek what to do; the wisest to seek, and the strongest to seek; all. And it must needs be so. For so long as a State is *terra*, like solid ground, men know where to set their footing, and it is not every earthquake that swallows the place. But when it is once *terra liquefacta*, "molten" and "dissolved," there is no footing, no foundation then. "I stick fast in the [deep] mire, where no ground is," and mire is but *terra liquefacta*, "molten" and "dissolved earth." All foul then, and no foundation.

Ps. lxix. 2. [P.B.V.]

And when a kingdom melts indeed, that is, both ways, in sin and under punishment, there is great reason the inhabitants should "melt" with it into fear, into danger, into ruin. For God never puts His fire to the "melting" of a State, but for sin, and sin that is never committed by the dead State, but by the living. For when "a fruitful land is made

Ps. cvii. 34. [P.B.V.]

[b] ["*Oculi Domini Dei super regnum peccans*, &c. . . . qui æquali conditione sunt facti, æquali judicii Mei sententia punientur; et omnia, absque discretione personarum, impia regna subvertam."—S. Hieronym. in Amos. Proph. c. viii. [ix.] tom. iii. p. 1449. Ed. Benedict.]

Sermon IV.

barren," it is "for the wickedness of them that dwell therein." And therefore there is great reason, when the "earth dissolves," that the inhabitants should all sweat and melt too.

When David came to the crown it was thus. How is it now? Why, if you take the "earth" at large for the kingdoms about you, out of question there hath been *liquefactio*, a "melting" in the "earth," and many kingdoms have "sweat" blood. But if you take the "earth" for the State at home, then it is high time to magnify God;—first, for the renowned, religious, and peaceable reign of our late dread sovereign of blessed memory, who for so many years together kept this kingdom in peace, and from "melting:" and secondly, that now in the change of princes, which is not the least occasion for a State to melt, we live to see a miracle, change without alteration:—another King, but the same life expression of all the royal and religious virtues of his father; and no sinews shrinking, or "dissolving," in the State.

Prov. xxviii. 2.

If you ask me the cause of this happiness, I can direct you to no other but God, and God in mercy. For as for the kingdom, that is made of the same "earth" with others, and is consequently subject to the same "dissolution." And as for us that dwell therein, I doubt our "sins" have been as clamorous upon God to heat His fire, and make it fall on "melting," as the sins of them that "inhabit" other countries.

And though I doubt not but God hath the sure mercies of David in store for the King, and will never fail him, yet if *habitatores in ea*, they that dwell in this good and happy soil, will burden it and themselves with sin, great sin, multiplied sin, unrepented sin; it will not be in the power, or wisdom, or courage, or piety of a King, to keep the State from "melting;" for David was all these, and yet *liquefacta est terra*, the "earth" was as good as "dissolved," for all that. And therefore that this kingdom is not a "melting" too, I can give no firm reason, but God and His mercy. For He is content to give longer day for repentance, and repentance is able to do all things with God. And the time calls apace for repentance; the heavens they "melt" into unseasonable weather; and the earth "melts" and "dissolves her inhabitants" into infectious humours; and there is

no way to stay these "meltings," but by "melting" ourselves in, and by, true repentance.

Would you then have a settled and a flourishing State? Would you have no "melting," no "dissolution," in the Church? I know you would; it is the honourable and religious design of you all. Why, but if you would indeed, the King must trust, and endear his people; the people must honour, obey, and support their King:[c] both King, and peers, and people must religiously serve and honour God. Shut out all superstition on God's name, the farther the better; but let in no profaneness therewhile. If this be not done, take what care you can, God is above all human wisdom, and in some degree or other there will be *liquefactio terræ*, a "melting," or a waste, both in Church and State.

II. And this falls in upon the second general part of the text; which is the remedy, as it was then with the Jews; the prevention, as it is now with us; which God and the King will use to keep the State and the Church from "melting." This remedy, and the prevention is just the same, is expressed first in the execution of "justice." And this God promises for the King; and the King promises under God: "I will judge according unto right," saith God; "and I," saith the King.

Now "justice and judgment" is the greatest binder up of a State; the great bounder of peace and war. And it is not possible to find "dissolving" sinews in a kingdom that is governed by "justice." For if the King flourish, the kingdom cannot "melt;" and the King's throne, that is established by "justice." Nay farther; nothing but "justice" can establish the throne, and make it firm indeed. But when God blesses the King with a heart full of "justice," when God strengthens the King in the execution of justice, when the King follows God as close as he can, with *ego judicabo*, I myself will look to the administration of "justice," with which God hath trusted me; there can be no "melting" about the throne of the King, none in the State, none in the Church.

Prov. xix. 12.

But then this "justice," which preserves the King, and

[c] ["Tene magis salvum populus velit, an populum Tu? Servat in ambiguo qui consulit et Tibi, et urbi, Jupiter."—Horat. Epist. lib. i. Ep. xvi.]

SERMON IV.

blesses the people, must be habitual. To do "justice" casually, though the thing done be just, yet the doing of it is not "justice." The State may "melt" for all that, because the remedy is but casual.

Again, since the whole State hath interest in the "justice" of the King, his "justice" must be spreading over all persons, and in all causes. And so it is plural in the text, "I will judge *justitias*," for every man's cause, so far as it is just.

Septuag.[d] S. Hier-[onym.][e] Ar[ias] Mont-[anus.][f] Exod. xviii. 18.

Why, but then must the King do all this himself? No, God forbid that burden should lie all upon him; Moses was not able alone for that. It was, and it is, heavy. What then? why then Jethro's counsel must be followed. There must be inferior judges and magistrates deputed by the King for this: men of courage, fearing God, and hating covetousness. These must quit Moses from the inferior trouble, that he may be active, and able for the great affairs of State. For if they be suffered to "melt," and drop downward, there can be no standing dry or safe under them.

[ibid.] ver. 21.

And hence it follows, that *ego judicabo*, "I will judge according unto right," is not only the King's engagement between God and the people; but it is the engagement of every judge, magistrate, and officer, between God, the King, and the State. The King's power, that is from God; the judge's, and the subordinate magistrate's power, that is from the King; both are for the good of the people, "that they may lead a peaceable life in all godliness, and honesty."

1 Tim. ii. 2.

All judges, and courts of justice, even this great "congregation," this great council, now ready to sit, receive influence and power from the King, and are dispensers of his "justice,"

[d] [ὅταν λάβω καιρὸν, ἐγὼ εὐθύτητας κρινῶ· ἐτάκη ἡ γῆ καὶ πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες αὐτὴν, [*al.* ἐν αὐτῇ]· ἐγὼ ἐπτερέωσα τοὺς στύλους αὐτῆς. — LXX. "Cum elegero tempus, ego recta judicabo: liquefacti sunt incolæ terræ, et omnis habitator ejus: ego firmavi columnas ejus in perpetuum." — Chaldaic. Paraphr. translatio. — "Cum accepero tempus, ego justitias judicabo: liquefacta est terra, et omnes qui habitant in ea: ego confirmavi columnas ejus."— Interpret. ex Græc. LXX.]

[e] ["Cum accepero tempus, ego recta judicabo. Dissoluetur terra cum omnibus habitatoribus suis: ego appendi columnas ejus."—S. Hieronym. in loc.]

[f] ["Cum accepero tempus *statutum*: ego rectitudines judicabo. Liquefacti (liquefacta est, *marg.*) terra et omnes habitatores ejus: ego direxi æquilibrio columnas ejus." — Ar. Montan. in loc.]

as well as their own, both in the laws they make, and in the laws they execute; in the causes which they hear, and in the sentences which they give: the King, God's High Steward, and they stewards under him. And so long as "justice and judgment" sits upon all the benches of a kingdom, either it is not possible for "fluxes" and "meltings" to begin in the State; or if they do begin, their drip will be cured presently.

Now while the King keeps close to *ego judicabo*, "I will judge" that which comes to me, "according unto right;" if inferior judges, which God forbid, judge other than right, they sin against three at once, and against God in all. For, first, they sin against the people, by doing them wrong instead of "justice." Secondly, they sin against their own conscience, not only by "calling," but by "sentencing," "good evil, and evil good." Thirdly, they sin against the King, the fountain of "justice" under God, in slandering of his "justice" to the people, with the administration whereof they are trusted under him.

Isa. v. 20.

And once again for inferior governors of all sorts. The King is the sun. He draws up some vapours, some support, some supply from us. It is true; he must do so. For, if the sun draw up no vapours, it can pour down no rain, and the "earth" may be too hard, as well as too soft and too "melting." Now this rain which descends, and is first caused by the sun, is prepared in the clouds before it falleth on the earth. And all great men that are raised higher than the rest, especially judges and magistrates of all sorts, they are the clouds. They receive the more immediate influence from the King; and if they be God's clouds, and retain what He gave them, they "drop fatness" upon the people. But if they be "clouds without water," they transmit no influence. If they be light clouds in the wind, then no certain influence. If they be "clouds driven, ὑπὸ λαίλαπος, by a whirlwind," then it is passionate, and violent influence. And the clouds, I hope, are not,—I am sure, should not be thus,—between the King and his people.

Ps. lxv. 12. [P. B. V.]

Jude v. 12.

2 Pet. ii. 17.

There is then, *ego judicabo*, "I will judge according unto right," both for the King, and all subordinate magistrates under him. But here is *ego judicabo*, and "I will judge accord-

SERMON IV.

ing to right," for God too. For many of the Fathers will have this to be God's speech, or David's in the person of God. And then whatsoever men do with "justice and judgment," God comes two ways in upon the judgments of men to review them.

S. Basil.[g] S. Hier-[onym.][h] Ruffin.[i] S. Aug.[k] Theod.[l] Euthym.[m] [in loc.] et S. Bern.[n] Serm. xv. in Cant. S. Basil.[o] S. Hier.[p] S. Aug[q] Euthym.[r]

For first, God comes in, when the "earth is melting" by violence and injustice. And then God's *Ego judicabo,* "I will judge," is either in mercy to repair the breaches, to stay the "melting" of the State: or else in judgment to punish the debasers of "justice." And this God sometimes doth in this life. But if He do it not here, yet He never fails to do it

[g] [*κἂν ποτε ἐν ψαλμοῖς ἀκούσῃς· ἐγὼ ἐστερέωσα τοὺς στύλους αὐτῆς· τὴν συνεκτικὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν στύλους εἰρῆσθαι νόμισον.*—S. Basil. Hexaëmeron. Homil. I. 9, tom. i. p. 9. Ed. Benedict.]

[h] ["Narrabimus mirabilia Tua. Hoc dicit Ecclesia: hoc dicit multitudo credentium. Iste versus cum prioribus jungitur: iste autem qui sequitur, ex persona Domini dicitur."—[Pseudo] S. Hieronym. Breviar. in Psalter. Ps. lxxiv. tom ii. p. 307.]

[i] ["*Cum accepero,* inquit, *tempus.* Non potuit tempus accipere in eo quod est filius Dei, sed in eo quod est filius hominis."—Ruffin. in Ps. lxxiv. Comment. p. 176. Ed. Lugd. 1570.]

[k] ["Audite jam verba Christi . . . Jam incipit ex persona capitis sermo. Sive autem caput loquatur, sive membra loquantur, Christus loquitur: loquitur ex persona capitis, loquitur ex persona corporis . . . Ergo, fratres, quid est hoc? *Cum accepero tempus, Ego justitias judicabo.* Accepit tempus ut filius hominis: gubernat tempora ut Filius Dei. Audi quia ut filius hominis accepit tempus judicandi. Dicit in Evangelio (Joh. v. 27): Dedit Ei potestatem judicii faciendi, quoniam filius hominis est. Secundum quod Filius Dei, nunquam accepit potestatem judicandi; quia nunquam caruit potestate judicandi: secundum quod filius hominis, accepit tempus, sicut nascendi et patiendi, sicut moriendi et resurgendi et ascendendi, ita veniendi et judicandi. . . Dicit in illo ista et corpus Ejus: non enim sine illis judicabit. Dicit quippe in Evangelio, *Sedebitis super duodecim sedes, judicantes tribus Israel.* Ergo totus Christus dicit, id est, caput et corpus in sanctis, *Cum accepero tempus, Ego justitias judicabo.*"—S. Augustin. Enarr. in Ps. lxxiv. tom. iv. pp. 785, 786. Ed. Benedict.]

[l] [*πᾶσης γὰρ εἰμὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης κριτὴς, καὶ ἅπασι τὰς ἀξίας ἐποίσω τιμωρίας.* — Theodoret. in Ps. lxxiv. tom. i. p. 696. Ed. Sirmond.]

[m] ["Sermo, velut ex Christi persona dicentis, Nolite esse pusillanimes, quia cum judicii tempus accepero, juste omnes judicabo, tâm eos qui intulerunt, quam eos quibus illata est injuria."—Euthym. in loc. p. 151. Ed. Veron. 1530.

"Hoc psalmo futurum prædicitur in mundi consummatione justum Dei judicium."—Id. ibid.]

[n] ["Possumus afferre aliquid et de Psalmo ad confirmandum id quod dicitur, de scrutanda Hierusalem. Ait namque sub persona Domini: *Cum accepero tempus, Ego justitias judicabo.* Vias justorum, ni fallor, et actus eorum discussurum se et examinaturum dicit."—S. Bernard. Serm. lv. in Cantic. p. 163 F. Ed. Paris. 1551.]

[o] ["Totius enim orbis judex sum, digne omnibus dignas pœnas sumam."—[Pseudo] S. Basil. in loc.—This is only a translation from Theodoret. (see Note, p. 5.)]

[p] ["*Quum accepero tempus, Ego justitias judicabo.* Nunc enim non est judex, sed erit. Si enim esset nunc judex, peccatores non exigerentur, et in sæculo non obtinerent divitias . . . Tempus enim judicii reservatur. In præsenti non est judicium, sed certamen. Non enim judicat Pater quemquam, sed omne judicium dedit Filio."—[Pseudo] S. Hieronym. Breviar. in Psalter. ut sup.]

[q] [S. Augustin. ut sup.]

[r] [Euthym. ut sup.]

at the last and final judgment; to which divers of the Fathers refer this passage of my text.

Secondly, God comes in when the "seats of justice," supreme and inferior, all are entire. And then God's *Ego judicabo*, "I will judge," is always to confirm and countenance the proceedings of "justice," and to bless the instruments. And my text hath it full. For it is not here said, I will judge the cause only, or the men only whose cause it is, or the judges only that sentence the cause; but *Ego justitias*, "I will judge the very judgments themselves," how right, or otherwise, they pass. And then this must needs be to confirm and honour them, if they be just; or to condemn and "dissolve" them, if they be unjust, rather than they shall "melt," or "dissolve," the State; or sometimes to send a "melting" into that State in which "justice" is perverted.

Theod.[s] [in loc.] S. Greg. [Magn.][t] Moral x. xxxi. S. Bern.[u] Ep. i.

Now, howsoever men sometimes break from their duty in "judging according to right," yet there can be no question of God's proceedings. He will be sure to "judge" all things, and all men, "according to right," whoever do not. "Shall not the Judge of all the world do right?" Yes, no question. And therefore even Kings themselves, and all mighty men of the earth, and judges of all sorts, have need to look to their ways. For God is over them with *Ego judicabo*, I will one day call for an account. I will judge all the executions of justice, with which I have trusted them. And this is the first prevention of the "melting" of a kingdom; the first remedy when it begins to "melt;" the maintenance and execution of justice.

Gen. xviii. 25.

The second follows; and it is the "establishing" of the "pillars" of the "earth." "I bear up the pillars of it." "I," saith God; and "I," saith the King.

[s] [Theodoret. ut sup. p. 102.]

[t] ["Sed contemta lampas, quæ in terra irrisiones tolerat, de cœlo judicium coruscat. Unde hic aperte subjungitur: *Parata ad tempus statutum.* De quo videlicet tempore per Psalmistam dicitur: *Cum accepero tempus, Ego justitias judicabo.*"—S. Gregor. Magn. Moralium, lib. x. in caput xi. Job. c. xxxi. 54, tom. i. p. 364. Ed. Benedict.]

[u] ["Veniet, veniet qui male judicata rejudicabit: illicite jurata confutabit: qui faciet judicium injuriam patientibus: qui judicabit in justitia pauperes: et arguet in æquitate pro mansuetis terræ. Veniet pro certo, qui per Prophetam minatur in Psalmo dicens: *Cum accepero tempus, Ego justitias judicabo.* Quid faciet de injustis judiciis, qui ipsas quoque justitias judicabit? Veniet, inquam, veniet dies judicii."—S. Bernard. Epist. i. (ad Robertum nepotem) p. 187 K. Ed. Paris. 1551.]

SERMON IV.

Where, first, it is not amiss to consider, what these great "pillars" of the earth are. The earth itself, that hath but one "pillar," and that is the poise and equilibre of the centre. And that is borne up by the Word and ordinance of God. "Thou commandedst, and it stood fast;" and, saith Saint Ambrose, it needs no other thing to stay it.

Ps. xxxiii. 9.

Hexaëm. lib. i. c. 6.[x]

The kingdoms of the earth, they have more "pillars" than one. This one, which is God's ordinance for government, they have; but they have divers administrators of this ordinance. And these "pillars" are Kings, and peers, and judges, and magistrates. Not one of these under the nature of a "pillar:" not one; but yet with a great deal of difference. For though there be many "pillars," yet there is but *unus Rex*, one King; one great and centre pillar; and all the rest in a kingdom do but "bear up" under and about him.

The Church, that is not without "pillars" neither. No, God forbid. And it resembles in this the kingdoms among which it sojourns. The great master pillar, Christ, He is the foundation of all the rest; "and other foundation can no man lay" of the Church. Next to Christ, the Apostles and the disciples are "pillars" too, and so called. After

1 Cor. iii. 11.

Gal. ii. 9.

Ruff.[y]

[x] ["Non ergo quod in medio sit terra, quasi æqua lance suspenditur: sed quia majestas Dei voluntatis suæ eam lege constringit, ut supra instabile atque inane stabilis perseveret, sicut David quoque Propheta testatur dicens: *fundavit terram super firmamentum ejus, non inclinabitur in sæculum sæculi.* Non utique hîc quasi tantummodo artifex Deus: sed quasi omnipotens prædicatur, qui non centro quodam terram, sed præcepti sui suspenderit firmamento, nec eam inclinari patiatur. Non ergo mensuram centri, sed judicii divini accipere debemus; quia non artis mensura est, sed potestatis: mensura justitiæ, mensura cognitionis; quia omnia non tanquam immensa prætereant Ejus scientiam, sed cognitioni Ejus tanquam dimensa subjaceant. Neque enim cum legimus, *Ego confirmavi columnas ejus*, vere columnis eam subnixam possumus æstimare, sed ea virtute quæ suffulciat substantiam terræ atque sustineat. . . . . Non ergo libramentis suis immobilis manet; sed frequenter Dei nutu et arbitrio commovetur. . . . Voluntate igitur Dei immobilis manet, et stat in sæculum terra, secundum Ecclesiastis (i. 4) sententiam, et voluntate Dei movetur, et nutat."—S. Ambros. Hexaëmeron. lib. i. 22. vol. i. p. 13. Ed. Benedict.]

[y] [The Commentaries on the first 75 Psalms, which pass under the name of Ruffin, "aut Ruffini non sunt, aut egregie interpolata: cum non pauca in iis reperiantur ex Augustini expositione in Psalmos, ex Gregorii Moralibus, aliisque deprompta." (Cave, Hist. Liter. vol. i. p. 287.)—The present is a case in point. On this verse Ruffin takes the passage from S. Augustine cited in the next note, with only verbal alterations: the conclusion runs thus "... . nutaverunt, quando Dominum occidi viderunt. Sed resurrexit: mortem non esse timendam demonstravit: spiritu ab alto misso in corda discipulorum inflammavit: et sic columnas terræ confirmavit."—In Ps. lxxiv. Comment. p. 177, ut sup.]

these their successors, bishops, and priests, the Fathers of the Church in their several ages, they came to be "pillars," and so shall successively continue to the end of the world. And so soon as Emperors and Kings were converted to the faith, they presently came into the nature of "pillars" to the Church too. If any man doubt this truth, I will call in the Pope himself to witness it. There are two great "props," or "pillars," of the Church, saith Leo, the "King's authority, and the Priests';" both these: and the Pope was content then to put the King's first. And Kings, saith Saint Augustine, are indeed great "pillars" of the Church, especially if they use their power, *ad cultum Dei dilatandum*, to enlarge and support the true religious worship of God.

S. Aug.[z] Euthym.[a] [in loc.] S. Bern.[b] Ep. lxxvii. Ephes. iv. [11.] [S. Leon.] Ep. xxxi.[c] De Civit. Dei. v. 24.[d]

You have seen what these "pillars" are. Will you consider next what they have to do both in Church and commonwealth? The office of a "pillar" is known well enough what it is. It is *sustinere*, to prop, and "bear up" the earth. *Quantum est columnarum nihil sustinentium sed in ornamentum tantum:* I know in luxuriant buildings many "pillars" stand only for ornament, but bear no weight. It

Senec. Ep. 86.[e]

[z] ["*Ego confirmavi columnas ejus.* Quas columnas confirmavit? Columnas Apostolos dicit. Sic apostolus Paulus de coapostolis suis (Gal. ii. 9). *Qui videbantur*, inquit, *columnæ esse.* Et quid essent illæ columnæ, nisi ab Illo firmarentur? Quia quodam terræ motu etiam ipsæ columnæ nutaverunt, in passione Domini omnes Apostoli desperaverunt. Ergo columnæ illæ, quæ passione Domini nutaverunt, resurrectione firmatæ sunt."—S. Augustin. ut sup. p. 102.]

[a] ["Hos etenim (se. Apostolos) columnas orbis esse merito dicimus, veluti qui solida sua doctrina omnes ubique gentium fideles sustineant et regant."—Euthym. in loc. p. 151.—So also Bede: "Columnas terræ vocat illos, super quos terra, in se dissoluta, ædificata consolidatur, scilicet sanctos Apostolos, super quos ædificium illud fundatum est, de quo dictum est, *Dei ædificatio est*, &c."—In Gloss. Ord. apud Bibl. Lat. in loc.]

[b] ["Unum, inquit, idemque dominicæ crucis trophæum prius prophetæ et Moyses quam apostoli noverant et prædicabant: sed prophetæ hoc aliquoties figuratis velatisque sermonibus: apostoli autem apostolorumque successores patefacta luce evangelii semper aperte prædicabant."—S. Bernard. Epist. 77. (ad Hugon. de S. Victore,) p. 206 F, ut sup.]

[c] ["Res humanæ aliter tutæ esse non possunt, nisi quæ ad divinam confessionem pertinent, et Regia et Sacerdotalis defendat auctoritas."—S. Leon. Epist. Decret. xxxi. ad Pulcheriam Augustam. tom. vii. p. 1084. Max. Biblioth. Patrum.]

[d] ["Felices eos imperatores dicimus, si juste imperant, si inter linguas sublimiter honorantium, et obsequias nimis humiliter salutantium non extolluntur, sed se homines esse meminerunt; si suam potestatem ad Dei cultum maxime dilatandum, majestati Ejus famulum faciunt; si Deum timent, diligunt, coluut. . . . tales Christianos imperatores dicimus esse felices, interim spe, postea reipsa futuros."—S. Augustin. De Civitate Dei, lib v. c xxiv. tom. vii. p. 141. Ed. Bencd.]

[e] ["Quid quum ad balnea libertinorum pervenero? quantum statuarum, quantum eolumnarum est nihil sustinentium, sed in ornamentum positarum, impensæ causa?"—Senec. Epist. 86, tom. iii. p. 92. Ed. Ruhkopf.]

SERMON IV.

is not so with "pillars" that are crowned. Honour and ornament they have, and they deserve it, but they are loaded too. Kingdoms and States, the greatest, the strongest in the world, are as mouldering earth, as men. Judah at this time was *terra liquefacta*, like a "dissolving" body. They cannot stand, *sine columnis*, without their "pillars" to bear them. And therefore the King hath ever been accounted, and truly, *columna stare faciens terram*, the main "pillar" and stay of the State. And *βασιλεὺς quasi βάσις λαοῦ*, the King is the "pillar," the foundation of the people. So Saint Gregory; for he bears *subjectorum suorum onera*, not only his subjects, but their burdens too.

Ar[ias] Mont-[anus].[f] Prov.xxix. 4.

Mor. l. ix. c. 13.[g]

The office then of the "pillars" is to bear; but when is there use of them? When? why continually; they can be spared at no time; if they leave bearing, the State "melts" presently. We read it four times repeated in Scripture, but upon two great occasions only, idolatry, and abominable lust, that "there was no King in Israel," Judg. xvii. and xix. "no King." And still there followed a "melting" and a "dissolving" of the State. "Every man did what seemed good in his own eyes;" and the punishment was great. At this time David was King of Judah, and Ishbosheth would be King of Israel; Joab was for the one, and Abner with the other. The "pillars" here, instead of bearing, fell a justling. What followed? Why you see, *liquefacta est terra*, that kingdom "melted."

Judg. xvii. 6; et xviii. 1.

Judg. xix. 1; et xxi. 25.

2 Kings. [Sam.] ii.

The "pillars" then can never be spared from their work, continual use of them; but yet at one time more need than another. And the time of the greatest necessity of these "pillars" is, when there is any "liquefaction," or weakening of the earth; and that is in the text "the earth dissolving:" and then by and by recourse to the "pillars."

[f] [Arias Montanus. — "Rex in judicio stare faciet terram: et vir *oblationum* diruat eam."—Prov. xxix. 5.]

[g] ["Ipsi etenim orbem portant, qui curas præsentis sæculi tolerant. Tantorum quippe pondera unusquisque sustinere compellitur, quantis in hoc mundo principatur. Unde et terræ princeps non incongrue Græco eloquio *βασιλεὺς* dicitur. *Λαός* enim populus interpretatur. *Βασιλεὺς* igitur *βάσις λαοῦ* vocatur, quod Latina videlicet lingua basis populi dicitur: quia videlicet ipse super se populum sustinet, qui motus illius, potestatis pondere fixus, regit. Quo enim subjectorum suorum onera tolerat, eo quasi superpositam columnam basis portat." — S. Gregor. Magn. Moralium, lib. ix. in caput ix. Job. xvi. 25, tom. i. pp. 300, 301. Ed. Benedict.]

To the "pillars;" and therefore they which weaken the government; nay, which do but offer to impair the honour and reputation of the governors, are dangerous and unworthy members of any commonwealth. For to murmur, and make the people believe, there are I know not what cracks and flaws in the "pillars;" to disesteem their strength; to undervalue their bearing; is to trouble the "earth, and inhabitants of it;" to make the people fear a "melting" where there is none. And what office that is, you all know.

Continual use there is then of the "pillars." But what then? Can the "pillars" bear up the earth in a "melting" time, by their own strength? No, sure, that they cannot, not at any time; and therefore least at a "melting" time. But what then? Why then here is *Ego* and *ego*, "I bear up the pillars" that are about me, saith David; and "I," saith God, "bear up" both these and David too. And indeed all "pillars" are too weak, if they be left to themselves. There must be one to bear them, or else they can never bear the earth. One, and it can be none under God: *Ego confirmavi*, it is I that in all times have borne up the "pillars" of it. And it is *per Me*, "by Me," saith God, "that Kings reign." Prov. viii. 15. And *per Me*, "by Me," is not only by God's ordination, once set, and then no more, but by His preservation, and His supportation too. And, as Saint Augustine observes, *quid essent ipsæ columnæ?* What could the "pillars" themselves do, if they were not borne up by God? But when it once comes to *Ego confirmavi*, "I bear up the pillars," there is nothing then to be feared. In Ps.[h] lxxiv. Arnob. lib. i. contra Gent.[i]

Now, these of which we speak, are not stony, or insensible, but living and understanding "pillars:" understanding, therefore they feel *onus terræ*, the burden of the earth which lies upon them, when the dull earth feels not itself; therefore as they feel, so are they able to compare their strength, and the burden, and the difference of the burden at several times; therefore, while they compare, they are sensible of the difference between supporting of earth, and

[h] [V. sup. p. 105.]

[i] ["Quid dicitis, o sacri divinique interpretes juris? meliorisne sunt causæ qui Grundules adorant Lares, Aios Locutios, Libentinos, quam sumus nos omnes qui Deum colimus rerum patrem, atque ab Eo deposcimus rebus fessis languentibusque tutamina?" — Arnobius adv. Gentes, lib. i. p. 331. Ed. Parisiis, 1836.]

SERMON IV.

terræ liquefactæ, [of] "dissolved," or "dissolving," earth. For this latter is heavier a great deal; therefore, in the difference, they can tell where they are likeliest to shrink under the burden, if God come not in to "bear them up."

And in all these cases, and many more, the "pillars of the earth" must go to God, as fast as the "inhabitants" of the earth come to them. They must pray for themselves. 1 Tim. ii. 2. And the Church, and the people, must pray for them too. And the close of the prayers must still be, that God would "bear up the pillars," that they may be able to "bear up" the earth.

And for the honour of kings, and their great assistants; mark it, God doth not say here, "I bear up the earth," and the "inhabitants" of it, though He doth that too, and they cannot subsist without Him; but, as if He had quite put them over to the King, and the great governors under him, He saith, "I bear up the pillars;" and then I look, and will require of them, that they "bear up" the State, and the people.

Orat. xxvii. 13.[k] Let me speak a little boldly, saith Gr[egory] Naz[ianzen], "Shew yourselves gods to your subjects;" gods, and no less. "Gods;" why then you must do God's work. And God's work, ever since the creation, is to preserve and "bear up" the world. Therefore, as God "bears up" you, so you must "bear up" the earth, and the people. God retains His own power over you; but He hath given you Rom. xiii. 1. His own power over them. His own power, and that is, to "bear up" the people at home; and, in all just quarrels, to force enemies abroad. And in all this, it is God's power still; but yet He will exercise it by the "pillars."

Therefore, in the first great leading of His people, Himself went before them in the form of a "pillar." Exod. xiii. 21. And when Exod. xiv. 24. He smote the army of Egypt, He looked out of the "pillar" while He struck it. And because this was an extraordinary "pillar," and therefore can be no principle for ordinary conclusions, He makes Moses, which was the ordinary

[k] [οἱ βασιλεῖς, αἰδεῖσθε τὴν ἀλουργίδα. . . . . τὰ μὲν ἄνω, μόνου Θεοῦ· τὰ κάτω δὲ, καὶ ὑμῶν Θεοὶ γινέσθε τοῖς ὑφ' ὑμᾶς, ἵν' εἴπω τι καὶ τολμηρότερον· καρδία βασιλέως ἐν χειρὶ Θεοῦ, καὶ εἴρηται, καὶ πιστεύεται. — S. Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. xxxvi. (al. xx.) c. xi. tom. i. p. 642. Ed. Benedict.]

"pillar," not "bear" only, but strike too: "he must streteh out his hand upon the sea." SERMON IV.

Now, this great work of God in supporting the "pillars," Kings, and mighty potentates of the earth, is so manifest, that no reason can be brought to deny it. Exod. xiv. 26.

First, in that the wisest and mightiest Kings that ever were, have been, in their several times, most religious.

Secondly, in that even those Kings, and great men under them, whieh have not accounted God their strength, have yet thought it necessary to bear the world in hand, that they did rely upon God to "bear them up." And this is a full proof that this prineiple is naturally printed in the heart of man, that God is *basis columnarum*, "the foundation of the pillars."

Thirdly, in that, very many times, weaker governors, both for wisdom and courage, do prosper, and perform greater works, than some whieh, in themselves, had far greater abilities, and a more provident counsel about them. A famous instance of this, is Pope Julius II.[1] To aseribe this to fortune only, worldly wisdom itself would condemn for folly. To give it to destiny, is to bind up God in ehains unworthy for men. For worldly wisdom knows this, that God in His works, *ad extra*, must be most free, or no God. To worldly wisdom itself it eannot be ascribed; for she hath openly disclaimed many of their actions, whieh have prospered best. Therefore, of neeessity, it must be ascribed to God's blessing and protecting them. Paulin. Ep. 38.[m]

And, certainly, there is no true reason can be given of it, but this. First, *Ego confirmo*, "I establish and bear up the pillars." For so long the world cannot shake them. And, seeondly, *Ego apto*, "I make fit the pillars," as Tremel- [lius] reads it, for so long they "bear," even above their Trem. ib.[n]

[1] [This instance of Pope Julius as one "weak for wisdom and courage," is not confirmed by the character which he bears in history. Compare Raynaldus' continuation of Baronius; also Bellarmine and Platina on the Lives of the Popes, and Roscoe's Life of Leo X.]

[m] ["Quia non ambigendum, omnia Dei esse, etsi nobis non sint perspicua, tamen esse consulta. Itaque si totum mundum Deus, qui condidit, et gubernat; quo in loco, vel cui creaturæ Casus, et Fatum, aut Fortuna, dominabitur?" —S. Paulini, Epist. 38, ad Jovium, tom. vi. p. 231, Max. Biblioth. Patrum.]

[n] ["Quum excepero conventum, Ego rectissime judicabo. Solutas terræ omniumque habitatorum ejus Ego aptabo columnas maxime."—Tremell. Vers. Ps. lxxv.]

Sermon IV.

strength. And, out of doubt, there is very much in the fitting of the "pillars." It is not the great massiness of a "pillar," but the clean and true working of him, that makes him bear; the fitting of him in time, and to his place.

And here, as for many other, so especially for two things, we have great cause to bless and magnify God. First, that since He would remove our "royal pillar," which had stood now under the weight of this government full twenty-two years, yet He would not do it, till He had prepared another, and brought him to full strength, to "bear up" this kingdom, to God's great honour, and his own. Secondly, that, by God's great blessing, and his royal father's[o] prudent education, he is, and was from the first hour, *confirmata columna*, an established and a settled "pillar." And I make no question, but *aptata columna* too, a "pillar" every way "fitted" to the State he bears; fitted to the difficulties of the time; fitted to the State, and fitted to the Church.

Now the Church, no question, for the external support of it, hath need, great need of temporal "pillars" too. At this time a great "pillar" of this Church is fallen; and doubtless a great part of the edifice had fallen with it, if God had not made supply of another and a very able "pillar."

Gen. xxviii. 18.

I find, Gen. xxviii., that there was an anointed "pillar;" that it was "anointed" by Jacob. The place was Bethel, the "house of God." In it the ladder of heaven, by which the angels go and come. But out of doubt this "pillar" is here. This "pillar" not yet anointed by the hand of the priest;[p] but anointed already to the inheritance, and by the blessing of Jacob. The place where Jacob left him behind

[o] [There are two interesting letters to Prince Henry, preserved by Ellis, (Original Letters, First Series, vol. iii. pp. 78—81,) which show the care which King James bestowed upon the education of his children, at least, in his earlier and better years. The first is especially noticeable, as it accompanied the presentation of the King's book, "ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ; or, his Majesty's Instructions to his dearest Son, Henry the Prince." "I send you herewith my book, lately printed: study and profit in it, as you would deserve my blessing: and as there can nothing happen unto you whereof you will not find the general ground therein, if not the very particular point touched, so must you read every man's opinions or advices unto you as you find them agree or discord with the rules there set down, allowing and following their advices that agree with the same, mistrusting and frowning upon them that advise you to the contrary. Be diligent and earnest in your studies," &c.]

[p] [This Sermon was preached before King Charles's Coronation.]

is the Church of God, and he left him a "pillar," for so he rested on him, and well he might. Old Jacob is gone by the angels' way to heaven, but he left the "pillar" here behind at Bethel, for the "house of God." And all the blessings of heaven and earth be upon him all the days of his life.

The Church in all times of her dissensions, when schism and faction have made great rents in her buildings, hath still had recourse to her "pillars," to her civil and her ecclesiastical "pillars," and she goes right. For her "pillars" must support her, or she cannot be borne up.

This very time is a time of Church division. What follows upon it? What? why the Church is become *terra liquefacta*, there is "melting" almost in every part of it, Christendom through, "melting" in all places, but not at the same "fire." For in one place truth "melts" away from the doctrine of the Church. In another, devotion and good life "melt" away from the practice of the Church. In a third, all external means and necessary supply "melts" away from the maintenance of the Church. And but that I know "hell gates cannot prevail against it," it "melts" so fast sometimes, that I should think it is, as the world takes it for, a house of butter against the sun.

Matt. xvi. 18.

Well, what is the cause that there should be such "melting" in the Church? What? why surely there are many causes, would I complain to you of them. But there are two in the very letter of my text, and them I cannot baulk. But I speak of the Church in general, and still hope the best of our own.

The one is, that the ecclesiastical "pillars," which are the Church's most immediate bearers, are in many places of Christendom but hollow pillars. And there is no trusting to hollow pillars with such a weight as the Church is. And therefore here, where God in mercy will stay the "melting," it is ἐστερέωσα τοὺς στύλους, "I will make the pillars solid." I will not leave the Church any longer hollow, hypocritical, and deceitful "pillars."

The other is, that the Church ofttimes relies too much upon her "pillars," upon the wisdom and the power of them. And so far, that sometimes *Ego confirmavi*, God that "bears up the pillars," is quite forgotten. And then whensoever

SERMON IV.

she and her "pillars" leave to rest upon God, they fall on "melting" presently, and no wonder.

But whatsoever the Church's error be, this I am sure will concern the State and you. It is not possible in any Christian commonwealth that the Church should "melt," and the State stand firm. For there can be no firmness without law; and no laws can be binding if there be no conscience to obey them; penalty alone could never, can never, do it. And no school can teach conscience but the Church of Christ. For wherever you find the Church "melt" and "dissolve," there you shall see conscience decay. Therefore, be "pillars" to the Church, and you shall be "pillars," strong "pillars," to the State, and to yourselves.

The third and last circumstance of the text is, the time that is chosen for both these, both for the execution of "justice," and establishing the "pillars;" and that is a set and a "convenient time," even "when He shall receive the congregation;" "for that time I will take," saith God; "and I," saith the King.

The first instant of this time set or taken is opportunity. It is καίρος in the text. And opportunity is the best moment in all the extension of time,—lose it, and lose all. The right use of it is one of the things that differences wisdom from folly.

Now a man would think that for these things in the text all times were times of opportunity. For can any time be unfit to do justice, to "judge according to right, to bear up the pillars" of State and Church? No sure, there cannot. And yet, even for these, here is both God and the King for opportunity. For here David promises both for God and himself, that he will take "a convenient time."

But then there is a great deal of difference between God and the King in taking of it. For when the King comes to "bear up" the State, it is simply *cum accepero tempus*, when I shall take a convenient time. For no regal power hath any command over time. It can neither force on, nor draw back, nor make stay of opportunity. He must take it when God offers it, or not have it. And if it be let slip, he cannot promise it shall return to his hand again. Nor can this great court make an act of parliament to stay or reduce it.

But when God comes to do "justice," and to "bear up the pillars" themselves, then, *cum accepero tempus* is not simply the taking of a convenient time, but the making of it too. And it stands not for *eligere*, but *statuere*, not for a choice of time, as if God must wait upon it; but for appointing of time, and making it fit to serve both God and the King.

For, saith Saint Augustine, *Deus non accipit (propriè), sed gubernat, tempora*, God doth not attend opportunities of time, as if He could not work without them, but He governs and disposes of time and occasion, and makes them ready for us to take them. Otherwise *obsequia temporum*, as Arnob[ius] calls them, the pliantness of time, will not attend, nor be commanded by us. So that here God's taking of the time is nothing but God's fitting of the time to us and us to it. And when He is said to take it, it is for us, not for Himself.

[in loc.][q]

Lib. i. contra Gent.[r]

Now though God be at this taking of the time, yet it is not in men to give it Him. No ability of man or any creature can do that. And therefore where the speech is of God, it is absolute, and simply *cum Ego*, "when I shall take it." Not I and you, not I from you; but out of His own wisdom He finds it, and out of His own goodness He takes it, and by His own power He uses it, to "bear up the pillars of the earth." And therefore here in the text is never a *cum tu das*, "when thou givest Me opportunity," but "when I take" and order time by Myself.

And yet let me tell you, that where man's strength can do nothing to give God an opportunity to preserve the earth, and the kingdoms of it, from "melting," there his weakness can. For as weakness is the thing that needs, so the time of "melting" is the opportunity of establishing the "pillars" of the earth. And so God in mercy is often pleased to make it. It was so, Ps. ix., "The Lord will minister true judgment unto the people; He will be a defence for the oppressed." When will He do this? *in opportunitatibus*, "in

Ps. ix. 9.

Gers. li. 1, de Consol. Theol. pros. 4.[s]

[q] [V. sup. p. 102.]

[r] ["Quid enim inservire elementa tuis necessitatibus postulas? Atque, ut vivere mollius et delicatius tu possis, obsequia temporum tuis debent commoditatibus se dare?"—Arnobius adv. Gentes, lib. i. p. 328. Ed. Paris. 1836.]

[s] ["Non aliter vult eadem Theologia, per summam desperationem de homine, trahere ad summam de Deo spem, et per desolationem inæstimabilem et intolerabilem, sursum ducere ad solidam consolationem."—Jo. Gerson. de Consol. Theolog. tom i. lib. i. prosa 4, p. 141. Ed. Du Pin. Antwerp. 1706.]

SERMON IV.

the needful time of trouble;" and that is the "melting" time. And it is so in the text, "I bear up the pillars" of the earth. When doth He bear them? *cum terra liquefacta est,* when States shake and seem to be "dissolving."

And since our sufficiency can give God's wisdom no opportunity, but yet our weakness gives His mercy opportunity enough; it is manifest, that no one thing is more necessary for preservation against the "melting" of a kingdom than humble and hearty prayer, that God will come always into that opportunity which our weakness makes.

And now because God doth often take unto Himself second means, and uses them in time to watch over the opportunity which Himself gives, here is a touch in the text for that too, when this fit time of bearing up of the "pillars" of the earth comes; and that is, as Saint Basil and some others read it, at the "receiving of the congregation;" that is, when the people shall meet in the synagogue to pray, and praise God: or, when honourable and selected of the people shall be summoned, and gathered together, in the name of the Lord, for council or justice. For no time so fit to honour God; none to execute "justice;" none to "bear up the pillars" of the earth; as when the "congregation is received," to meet, and consider and weigh all those things which make for the honour and safety of a kingdom. And beginning that service with God's: for God forbid this honourable council of State should sit down and begin any where else than at God.

S. Bas.[t] Calv.[u] Vers. Angl. ult. [*i. e.* King James's Translation.]

Now the great "congregation" among the Jews was the Sanhedrim. And the going up of the tribes to Jerusalem was first "to give thanks unto the Lord," and then "to sit down on the seat of judgment." And Jerusalem at that

Ps. cxxii. 4, 5. Jansen.[x] [in loc.]

[t] ["Aquila et Symmachus sic reddiderunt: *Cum accepero synagogam.* Quando (inquit) revertemur, et in templum denuo congregabimur, tunc Te legitime laudabimus."—[Pseudo] S. Basil. Schol. in Psalm. tom. iii. p. 177. Ed. Basil. 1565.]

[u] ["*Cum assumpsero.* יעד Hebræis locum, vel diem, condicere, significat: nomen vero מועד ex eo deductum, quo hic utitur Propheta, tam sacros conventus quam dies festos, cœtum etiam in Dei nomine collectum significat."—Calvin. in Ps. lxxv. p. 282.]

[x] ["Præsens Psalmus describit studium et gaudium sanctorum in adeundo domum Domini in Jerusalem, cujus gloria et felicitas canitur ab eo quod sit egregie ædificata, optataque civium unanimitate optime instituta, quodque ea et religionis esset locus, et sedes item regni."—Corn. Jansen. Paraphrasis in Psalmos. Argumentum Psalmi cxxi. p. 276.]

time was the seat both of religion and the State. Differences I know there are many between us and them, our government and theirs, but not in this, that the tribes are assembled, and "come up" to one place;—nor in this, that they come up first "to give thanks" to God, before they possess "the seat of judgment;"—nor in this much, that there is a session, a Convocation for religion, as well as Parliament for State. But to leave them, and come to our own.

This great council of the kingdom, this "congregation," is never "received" to meeting, but about the "pillars" of the State, the laws, and the government. That by the laws there might be "judgment according to right;" and by the government the "pillars" may both "bear," and be "borne." I say "bear," and be "borne:" for though, in the text, it be, "I bear up the pillars," that is, I at all times; and I, in some cases, where none can but I; and I, when all forsake, save I; yet that is not so to be taken, as if the people were not bound to "bear up the pillars," as well as the "pillars" them. No; for there is no question but they are bound, and strictly bound, too. And certain it is, no State can flourish, if there be not mutual support between the "earth" and the "pillars;" if it fail of either side, there is some "melting" or other presently. Rom. xiii. 6, 7.

For, "the strength of a King is in the multitude of his people." His supply and his defence is there. And the strength of a people is in the honour and renown of their King; his very name is their shield among the nations; and they must make account to "bear," if they will be "borne." And this is read in the very dictates of nature for government. For no man ever saw building of State, but the "pillars" which "bear up" it are "borne" by the "earth." Prov. xiv. 28.

Now, God and the King do both "receive" this "congregation," and in fitness of time, and yet with a difference, too. For the King "receives the congregation," to consult and advise with it; but God "receives" it, to direct and to bless it. And God, with His blessing, is never wanting to us at these and the like times, if we be not wanting to Him, and ourselves.

SERMON IV.

And thus you have seen in what state the kingdom of Israel was in David's time; and how easy it is for any kingdom to be in the like, in a "melting" and a "dissolving" estate. You have likewise seen what remedy was then, and what prevention is now to be thought of, against this "melting."

This both remedy and prevention consists especially in impartial distribution of "justice" to the people; and in God's gracious and powerful supporting of the "pillars" of the State. The "time" for this never so fit, as "when the congregation is received" by the King to consultation, and by God to blessing.

It is not much which I have more to say. The "congregation" is now ready to be "received." The very "receiving" it joins it with the fitness of opportunity. For it is the King's opportunity to bless his people with "justice and judgment;" and it is God's opportunity to "bear up" both King and peers, both greater and lesser "pillars" of the State. My text delivers a promise of both. For it is David's speech for himself, and for God. "I will do both," saith God; "and I," saith the King.

Now, you may not distrust this promise on either side; neither on God's nor David's. Not on God's side, for that is infidelity. Nor the King's; for what hath he done that can cause misbelief? or, what hath he not done, and that above his years, that may not merit and challenge belief of all?

And for the comfort of this kingdom, and all that dwell therein, the service of the day, which was first designed for this business, seems to me to prophesy that another Hezekiah, a wise and a religious King, hath begun his reign. For the first Lesson appointed in the Church for Evening Prayer that day, is 4 [2] Kings xviii., which begins the story of Hezekiah. "Hezekiah was twenty-five years old when he began to reign." There is his age. What did he when he came first into the throne? Why, one of his first works was, "he gathered the princes of the city"—there was the "receiving of the congregation"—and so "went up to the house of the Lord." After this, what was the course of his life? It follows, "he clave to the Lord, and departed not from Him." (And I hope I may make a prophecy of that

4 [2] Kings xviii. 2.

2 Chron. xxix. 20.

4 [2] Kings xviii. 6.

which follows [goes before]. "So that there was none like him among the kings of Judah, neither were there any such before him." And thus is our Hezekiah come this day to "receive" this great "congregation," in the name of the Lord. 4 [2] Kings xviii. 5.

Let us, therefore, end with prayer unto God. That He would bless both the King and the State. That this kingdom may never be *terra liquefacta*, like "molten" and "dissolved" earth. That if, at any time, for our sins, it begin to "melt" and wash away, the remedy may be forthwith applied. That "justice and judgment" may be given "according to right." That the "pillars" of the earth may be "borne" up; the inferior and subordinate "pillars" by the King, and both the King, as the master-pillar, and they, by God. That all this may be done in fit and "convenient time." That God would make "fit the time," and then give the King and the State, and this great council, all wisdom to lay hold of it. That this great "congregation" may be in the fitness of "time." That God would be pleased to "receive" and bless it. That the King will be pleased to "receive" and grace it. That it will be pleased to "receive" the King, according to his desert, and their duty, with love, honour, and necessary supplies; that so he may "bear up" this kingdom, and the honour of it, with comfort; and be a strong and a lasting "pillar," to support both it and us, in the true worship of God, and all inferior blessings. That he may "dwell before God for ever;" and that God would "prepare His loving mercy and faithfulness, that they may preserve him." That all the blessings of Grace may attend him, and this "congregation," in this life; and all the blessings of Glory crown both him and us in the life to come. And this Christ for His infinite mercy grant unto us. To Whom, &c. Ps. lxi. 7. [P.B.V.]

A

SERMON

PREACHED

before His MAIESTIE

On Wednesday *the fift of* July

AT WHITE-HALL,

At the ſolemne FAST *then held.*

By the Biſhop of S. DAVIDS.

LONDON,
Printed for RICHARD BADGER.

M.DC.XXVI.

[The entries in the Diary, anno 1626, relating to this Sermon, are :—

"June 20, Tuesday.—His Majesty, King Charles, named me to be Bishop of Bath and Wells : and, at the same time, commanded me to prepare a Sermon for the public Fast, which he had, by proclamation, appointed to be kept on the 5th of July following.

"July 5.—A solemn Fast appointed, partly upon account of the pestilence yet raging in many parts of the kingdom, partly on account of the danger of enemies threatening us. I preached this day before the King and nobility, at Whitehall. It was Wednesday.

"July 8.—The King commanded me to print and publish the Sermon. It was Saturday.

"July 16. Sunday, I presented ['Theobaldis,' (Lat. Vers.)] that Sermon, which was now printed, to his Majesty, and returned."

The second Parliament was dissolved 15th June, 1626 (Rushworth, vol. i. p. 400). King Charles then endeavoured to raise a benevolence : "amidst these preparations, the kingdom being exposed to dangers, both foreign and domestic, a general Fast was held on the 5th day of July, in the cities of London and Westminster, and places adjacent : and on the 2d of August, throughout the kingdom, to implore a blessing, &c. . . . . and for the defence of the realm, threatened with a powerful invasion, extraordinary commissions were given to the Lords Lieutenants of the several counties, to muster and array men . . . . Ships were also sent to the Elbe, and to Denmark, to prevent supplies from thence to the Spaniards . . . . and the fleet at Portsmouth was ready to put to sea under Lord Willoughby."—Rushworth, vol. i. pp. 416, 417.]

SERMON V.

PREACHED BEFORE HIS MAJESTY, AT WHITEHALL, ON WEDNESDAY, THE 5TH OF JULY, 1626, AT THE SOLEMN FAST THEN HELD. [Ed. 1651.]

PSALM LXXIV. 22.

Arise, O God, plead, or, *maintain Thine own cause: Remember how the foolish man* reproacheth, or, *blasphemeth Thee daily.*

SERMON V.

THIS psalm in the very letter is a complaint of the waste that was made upon the city of Jerusalem; and the profanation of the Temple that was in it. And these go together. For when did any man see a kingdom, or a great city, wasted, and the mother church left standing in beauty? sure I think never. For enemies when they have possessed a city seldom think themselves masters of their own possessions, till they have, as they think, plucked that God out of His house, which defended the city. As you may see in that brag of the Heathen in Minu[tius] Felix. And so it was here. In Octav.[a] "The enemies roared in the city, and displayed their banners." [Ps. lxxiv. 5. [P.B.V.] And then by and by follows the defiling of the holy place. Down goes "the carved work with axes and hammers," and "fire" on the rest. Ver. 6, [7, 8.]

A profanation upon the Temple, and upon all the rites of religion, there was. All agree upon that. But it was yet but in prophecy, not come. And the learned which lived

[a] ["Unde autem, vel quis ille, aut ubi Deus unicus, solitarius, destitutus; quem non gens libera, non regna, non saltem Romana superstitio noverunt? Judæorum sola et misera gentilitas unum et ipsi Deum, sed palam, sed templis, aris, victimis, cerimoniisque coluerunt: cujus adeo nulla vis, nec potestas est, ut sit Romanis hominibus [numinibus] cum sua sibi nationc captivus."—Minut. Fel. Octav. tom. iii. p. 244, Max. Biblioth. Patrum.]

SERMON V.

but in prophecy, not come. And the learned which lived after, and looked back upon the prophecy, and the accomplishment of it, are not agreed. For some say, the text refers to the first great desolation by Nebuchadonosor; some, to the last by Titus; some, to that which came between by Antiochus Epiphanes; and some indefinitely to all. The best is, you cannot refer the text amiss. For in every of these, the city and the Temple, the State and the Church, were threatened alike. And I for my part see no great reason yet, why the prophet should not mean all, since certain it is both State and Church did suffer in all.

This psalm, as in the letter it looks back upon the State and Church of the Jews, so in the figure it looks forward upon the whole course of the Church of Christ, entertained in any State; for if the State come to suffer, it is madness to think the Church can be free. And therefore this psalm certainly was penned to be *documentum perpetuum*, an everlasting document to the Church of Christ, to labour and pray for the safety of the State; because if any violence threaten the kingdom with waste, it must needs at once threaten the Church with both profanation and persecution.

Well, this danger is usually threatened before it come; and so it was here. But upon that threatening what remedy hath the State? What? why wisely to foresee, carefully to provide against, and unanimously and stoutly to resist the insolence and the violence of the enemy. And to this work every subject is bound by all law, of God, of nature, and of nations, to put hand and means, life and livelihood. But what remedy hath the Church? What? why a remedy beyond all this. *Majora arma*, as Saint Chrysostom calls them, greater, sharper weapons. For foresight, and care, and unanimity, and courage, sometimes come all too short. For all these may dwell in greater proportion in the enemy's camp. Whither goes the Church then? Whither? why doubtless to God. For when all things else fail, "the help that is done upon earth, He doeth it Himself."

Hom. xiv. in Ep. ad Hebr.[b]

Ver. 13.

To God, and to God by prayer. That is the Church way.

[b] [Δεῖ τοίνυν ὅπλων ἡμῖν· μέγα δὲ ὅπλον εὐχή.—S. Chrysostom. Hom. in Epist. ad Hebræos. Hom. xiv. tom. xii. p. 147. Ed. Benedict.]

And the Church way is *via regia*, the King's way, as Epiphan[ius] calls it. The prophet here is all upon this way. For here in the psalm is a noise of enemies coming. There is a prophecy what they will do if they get the better. What doth the Church? Doth she stay till the enemies be come? No, sure. It is no wisdom in the State; it is no religion in the Church, to do so. No: nor did the Church so here. But she called to mind what strange things God had done of old for His servants. Upon that mercy she grounds her confidence; that upon the same repentance, she shall have the like deliverance. And upon this faith and hope she repents and prays.

Hæres.[c] lix.

Ver. 14.

Ver. 20.

My text is the conclusion of this prayer. And it hath two parts. The one is the invocation, that God would bestir Himself; "arise, O God." The other is what the prophet would have Him do, when He is "risen:" and they are two things which he doth expressly desire of Him. The one is, that He would plead and maintain His own cause. The other, that He would remember how the foolish man reproaches or blasphemes Him daily. "Arise, O God, maintain Thine own cause; remember how the foolish man blasphemeth Thee daily."

The text itself is all, as it begins, a prayer.

It must needs fit the work of the day. For that proclaims for prayer. No time is or can be unfit to call upon God; but such times as this are necessary. And there cannot more well be said, "than such times as this." The prophet David, where he points out opportunity for prayer, goes not so far. "Call upon Me in the day of trouble, so will I hear thee, and thou shalt glorify Me." There it was but the "day of trouble." But "these times," might I be bold to put them under their just character, for difficulties both at home and abroad, are more than the "day of trouble."

Ps. l. 15.

For, beside that they have made up a long "day of trouble" already, "these times" are the very concurse of fear and danger. The clouds have threatened from heaven, now many days together, to destroy a hopeful and plentiful

[c] [οὐκ ἐκκλινοῦμεν ἐντεῦθεν ἢ ἐντεῦθεν, ὁδῷ βασιλικῇ βαδιοῦμεν· ἔστι γὰρ ὁδὸς βασιλικὴ, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία, καὶ ὁδοιπορία τῆς ἀληθείας.—Epiphan. Hæres. lix. κατὰ καθαρῶν, lib. ii. tom. i. p. 219. Ed. Basileæ, 1544.]

SERMON V.

"harvest in the day of possession;" as the prophet speaks. The "pestilence," as if it were angry that God had driven it out of "this great city of the kingdom,"[d] wastes and destroys far and near in other places of it. The "sword" of a foreign enemy threatens to make way for itself. And if it enter, it is worse than "famine" and the "pestilence." The prophet calls it a "razor;" but such as is readier to cut the throat than shave the beard.

Isa. xvii. 11.

Isa. vii. 20.

Can you tell where to sue out remedy against these, but at God? Perhaps you may think upon second and subordinate helps; and it is fit you should; for these are simply necessary too. And it is God's great blessing upon the kingdom, that to meet with the distractions of the time, He hath placed over us in the throne a wise, a stout, a vigilant, and a most provident King. Well; but can you always have these second helps at hand? Can you always by them effect your end? Have you them ready at this time? Have you the sinews that move them? It is well if you have. But I doubt it is a great part of the sorrow and trouble of the time, that you have not. And howsoever, have, or have not, there is a commanding power both over you and these. And therefore this is a time for humiliation under that power, that He which "gives grace to the humble, would resist the pride of our enemies."

Jas. iv. [6].

I need not press this any further. The necessity of these times speaks out. It is past whispering now that this is "a day of trouble." "Of trouble;" therefore it ought to be a day of prayer, humble and devout prayer, which may outcry our sins to God. And as it ought to be, so authority in a most religious hand commands it. And a powerful edict hath made that duty public, which else perhaps would have been as much neglected in the private, as the time itself and the danger both have been.

Will you say, We see by the threatenings, that God is angry with us? Will you add to this: If He be angry, He will not succour us; no, nor regard the prayers that are made for succour? Well, suppose this; yet prayer is necessary, and the ready way to bring God into the battle on our side. Will you see how? First, God gives grace. In the strength of

[d] [See Sermon III. and Note on p. 88.]

grace do you repent, and God cannot continue angry. In your repentance pray, and God cannot but hear; and some way or other come in to help. And it was never a Church conclusion; God is angry, therefore I will not pray. No; but therefore I will, was the Church's voice. First, pray to appease His anger, and then pray again to obtain His love, and those blessings which He gives where He loves.

And the Church of old often did upon great apprehensions, as we do this day, fast, and pray together: that is, labour by all means to make God for the State. First, because if there be any "evil spirit," as you lately heard, got in between "Abimelech and the men of Shechem," between the King and his people, there is no exorcism so sovereign to cast him out, as "fasting and prayer." For some "devils," you know, will not otherwise out. And because a soul, humbled by "fasting," grows hungry after God; and that hunger shall be "satisfied." But one "fast" there is, take heed of it. It is a mighty enemy both to prayer and him that prays. It is to fast from sustenance while we are in the church; and to fall greedily, like hungry men, upon all our old sins, so soon as we are out at the church door. God Himself cries out against "this fast," and will none of it.

Judg. ix: 33.

Matt. xvii 21.

Matt. v. 6.

Isa. lviii. 5.

Well, "fasting" then and "prayer" is necessary. But how doth this "prayer" of the prophet fit us? How? why sure it fits us every way. And we have as much need, every way as much, to pour out our prayers to God, as Israel had. The prayer is, *Exurge Deus*, "Arise, O God."

When the priests of Baal had prayed long, and were not heard, Elias bid them cry louder; their God was "asleep," and must be awaked, ere he could help them. "Asleep?" Yes, dead asleep. And it was in just scorn of their gross idolatry that he bid them cry louder upon a deaf idol. But that God that watches over Israel, "doth neither slumber nor sleep;" as appears in the speedy return which He there made to the prayers of Elias.

3 [1] Kings xviii. 27.

Ps. cxxi. 4.

Why but then, if the God of Israel doth "neither slumber nor sleep," why doth the prophet call upon Him to "arise," and take care of the people? Why? surely not because He was laid down to rest; but because this is one of the many speeches which are uttered of God in Scripture,

SERMON V.

ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, after the manner of men; not to express any such thing in God, but to make us understand something of God by ourselves. So that while the prophet prays that God would "arise," here is no signification of any slumber in God; but it is to teach us, that God sometimes, in His providence over us, is *dormienti similis*, like to a man that sleeps. As some in Saint Basil render that in the Psalm xliv. 23.

Ps. xliv. 23.

S. Basil.[e] in Ps. xxiii. [xliii.]

For as he that sleeps must have some call to awaken him; so when God, either for our sins, or for trial of our faith and patience, or for some other cause best known to Himself, shall suspend or draw in the sensible comfort of His providence, by which we are presently exposed to fear or danger, our prayers must be the call, to make it appear by the activeness of His providence that He sleeps not. And God is then said to "arise," when after long withdrawing, as it were, His act of power and providence,—for so it is called ver. 12, "Why withdrawest Thou Thy hand?"—He at last shews He was waking over His people. And to manifest this to their comfort is the prophet's prayer: "Arise, O God."

S. Hieron.[f] in Habac. iii.

Ver. 12.

Now the prophet prayed here in the name of the Church and of the State. And the manner of the prayer tells me both were in danger, great danger: as they must ever be when God withholds His mercy, as here He did. For, *nisi Dominus*, "except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." And *nisi homo*, except men have some sensible experience of God's favour, that He doth keep the city, they are apt to doubt and distrust His goodness, and very ready to think He sleeps. Whereas He doth, but as earthly parents sometimes do with their lesser children, hide themselves that they may

Ps. cxxvii. 1.

[e] [καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν ἁρμόζουσαν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἡμῶν κατάστασιν, οἱονεὶ περιτίθεμεν τῷ Θεῷ· διὰ τοῦτο νυσταζόντων ἡμῶν καὶ νωθρῶς ἐνεργούντων, ὑπνοῦν λέγεται ὁ Θεὸς, ἀναξίους ἡμᾶς κρίνων τῆς ἐπισκοπούσης ἡμᾶς ἐγρηγόρσεως αὐτοῦ· ἐπειδὰν δέ ποτε αἰσθόμενοι τῆς ἐκ τοῦ ὕπνου βλάβης εἴπωμεν· Ἀνάστηθι, ἵνα τί ὑπνοῖς Κύριε; κ.τ.λ. (Ps. xliii. (xliv.) 23.)—S. Basil. Hom. in. Ps. xxix. tom. i. p. 125. Ed. Benedict.]

[f] ["*Quum iratus fueris, misericordiæ recordaberis.* Non debemus putare oblivisci Deum, et post iram suæ misericordiæ recordari: sed quod nos eum in pœna positi putemus oblivisci, juxta illud, *usquequo Domine?* (Ps. xii. 1.) Nam et si quando tentationibus, quasi fluctibus operimur, et rapida dæmonum adversus nos procella desævit, velut ad dormientem loquimur, *Exurge, quid dormitas, Domine?*"—S. Hieronym. Comment. lib. ii. in Abacuc Prophet. c. 3, tom. iii. p. 1620. Ed. Benedict.]

be sought. And the more their children cry at their absence, the stronger argument they draw of their love, and joy in their very tears to see they cannot call but crying. And, poor infants, they cry because they know no safety but in their mothers' arms. And certainly no safety for us but in the hand of God; and therefore it is time to call, that God would be found of us, and "arise to succour us."

But you will say, though God cannot, yet Christ as man could and did, sleep. And it is in vain for us to make any address to God if Christ be asleep and not with us: for, "the well-pleasing of God is in Him, not in us." Yea, but mark. Though Christ could and did sleep while His body was passible, yet after His resurrection that His body was glorified, as "He can die no more," so can He sleep no more. And He is more vigilant, a great deal, over all the prayers we make, than we are to make them; else we must deny Him to be God. For, as Saint Austin tells us, *aures Dei in corde precantis sunt*, the ears of God are in the heart of him that prays. Not a motion in the heart but the ear of God hath it presently. And so of Christ, or He cannot be God: so no fear that Christ is asleep neither.

Matt. iii. 17.

Rom. vi. 9.

S. Aug.[g] in Ps. cxxix.

And even in the time while He carried about Him our flesh mortal, we never read that He slept but once; and that was at sea, and at sea in a tempest. An ill time chosen, you will say, to sleep in; but that is not so neither. For He took opportunity only of the tempest to show His disciples that His command could lay the sea. If any enemy come upon us, he must come by sea; it is therefore fit for us to pray, that though Christ now slumber not, yet that He would remember where He once slept, but "arose" to make a "calm." We have been in one "tempest," and we have cause to fear another; let us in any case get Christ to sea, and aboard our ships, that no tempest may untackle them, or rent their keels, or hew down their masts; that no enemy may come near them with safety, nor slide from them by escape. This is the way, and you are now upon it, to make

Matt. viii. 28.

[g] ["*De profundis clamavi ad Te* . . . Penetravit [oratio] omnia, disrupit omnia, pervenit ad aures Dei: si tamen dicendum est, quia disruptis omnibus pervenit ad aures Dei; quando aures Dei in corde precantis erant. Ubi enim Deum præsentem non habet, cujus fidelis est vox?"—S. Augustin. Enarr. in Ps. cxxix. tom. iv. p. 1454. Ed. Benedict.]

Sermon V.

God and Christ arise together. And this very prayer here in the text is grounded upon a "wonderful deliverance at sea" (ver. 14).

Ver. 14.

Well, we are safe enough at sea, and at land, if we can but get God to "arise" on our part. But how shall we be able to do it? How? why, never dream, for it is a dream indeed, and a fond one too, that you can ever be able, without God's grace, to make God yours. But know that He hath grace for you, and gives it, and He is half yours already: He will "arise" and be all yours, if you pray in grace. But here two things are especially to be taken heed of, if we will have our "fasting" and our "prayers" prevail. And I doubt we are guilty of both, and have taken heed of neither.

The one is "pride," and the worst of it, rising against God. For, we must not look that God should "arise" to help us, if we "arise" to oppose and unglory Him. And

Jas. iv. 6.

mark the phrase of Scripture, "God resists the proud." "Resists;" therefore, that time which we would have God spend to defend us, our "pride" forces Him to use to "resist" us. And, certainly, rising against God, and raising our sins with us, even above mercy, were it possible, is not the way to make God "arise for us," but against us. If we will have God "arise," "we must fall low on our face

Ps. xcix. 5.

before His footstool, for He is holy," and humble ourselves, as we have begun this day, that He, which is all mercy and power, may be as willing, as we know Him able, to deliver us.

The other is "security." And the worst kind of that too, "security" in, and under, danger. For we must not look that God should "arise," and take care of us, if we will sleep on in "security," without care of ourselves. And no destruction so sudden as that which comes when "security"

1 Thess. v. 3.

sings, "peace and safety." Nay, which is worse, the Apostle there tells us, that, in the time of "security," God threatens it shall come. So, "security" is both a means to bring danger, and a disenabling to resist it. And, therefore, if you will have God "arise," you must arise too. "Arise" in soul by devotion; "arise" in life, by the works of sanctification; and "arise" in prudence, and in provident care

to be up, and not found sleeping in riot and excess, when an enemy is, or ought to be, feared. SERMON V.

I know it is hard to make you confess that you have been, or are, either "secure" amongst men, or "proud" against God. And I am sorry it is so. For the very difficulty of confession makes me doubt you are guilty of both, and so continue. For he was a wise man that gave this reason, why a man doth not confess his faults, namely, *quia etiam nunc in illis est;* because he continues in them still. And you know, *somnium narrare, vigilantis est,* it is a proof that a man is awaked, when he can tell, and doth acknowledge, how his dreaming fancy fooled him while he slept. But if, after all this, you do not yet see you have been in a dream, I must crave leave to think you are "secure" and "asleep" still. Let us, therefore, "confess" and amend these and all our other sins, that have made God stand aloof from us, and then God will "arise," before we can call Him up. Sen. Ep. liii.[h]

This for the invocation. The second general part of the text is, what the prophet would have God do when He is "risen." And they are two things.

The first is, that God, when He is risen, "would plead and maintain His own cause." In which the circumstances are many and important.

And, first, I find acknowledged here by the prophet, that God hath a "cause" in hand; not always the same, but still a "cause;" and a cause in continual agitation among the sons of men. So it is always term with God; some cause still, and a trying. And yet the opinion which some of the heathen had, that God could not work in providence over us, but He must be unquiet and troubled in Himself, is as weak as false. Min. Fel. in Octav.[i]

[h] ["Contra evenit in iis morbis, quibus afficiuntur animi: quo quis pejus se habet, minus sentit .... Nam qui leviter dormit, et species secundum quietem capit, aliquando dormire se dormiens cogitat: gravis somnus etiam somnia extinguit .... Quare vitia sua nemo confitetur? Quia etiam nunc in illis est. Somnium narrare, vigilantis est; et vitia sua confiteri, sanitatis indicium est. Expergiscamur ergo, ut errores nostros coarguere possimus." — Senec. Epist. liii. tom. ii. p. 231.]

[i] ["At etiam Christiani, quænam monstra, quæ portenta confingunt? Deum illum suum, quem nec ostendere possunt, nec videre, in omnium mores, actus omnium, verba denique, et occultas cogitationes diligenter inquirere: discurrentem scilicet, atque ubique præsentem; molestum illum volunt, inquietum, impudenter etiam curiosum. Siquidem adstat factis omnibus, locis omnibus intererrat: cum nec singulis inservire possit per universa districtus, nec universis sufficere in singulis occupatus."—Minut. Fel. Octav. tom. iii. c. 2, p. 244. Max. Biblioth. Patrum.]

SERMON V.

Christ tells us otherwise: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work."

John v. 17.

For, as the School observes, "though He ceased the seventh day from the work of the general creation of the kinds of things, yet there is another work from which He ceased not; that work is in *gubernatione creaturarum*, in His providence and government of the world." But this work of God is questioned too. For many things in the works of Providence many men, yea, and sometimes the best, are a great deal too busy with.

Tho. sup. Q. 88. A. 1.[k]

For instance: They would fain know why many wicked men prosper in the world, and why many virtuous men suffer? This secret hath exercised the world in all ages, and the Church ever since it had a being. It put such a stress upon the prophet, that it crushed these words out of him: "It is in vain that I have cleansed my heart, and washed my hands in innocency." "In vain?" No; God forbid! And the prophet corrects his passion after. In the mean time, here is the cause of God at trial; and men apt to quarrel that for injustice, which is not against the rule, but above their reach; "as at the day of judgment shall plainly appear," saith Saint Augustine.

Ps lxxiii. 12.

Ver. 16.

Lib. xx. de Civit. Dei, c. 1.[l]

Again: They would fain know all the secrets of predestination. But it is one of God's foundations; and such a "foundation" as He hath set a "seal" upon it. "The Lord knows who are His." It is very dangerous breaking up of "seals," especially God's. The indorsement is enough for us, and very plain to be read. It follows: "and let every

2 Tim. ii. 19.

[k] ["AD SECUNDUM [sc. Utrum Deus septima die requievit ab omni opere suo] sic proceditur. Videtur quod Deus septima die non requievit ab omni suo opere: dicitur enim Johan. 5. *Pater Meus usque modo operatur, et Ego operor.* Non ergo septima die requievit ab omni opere .... ¶ RESPONDEO .... utroque modo dicitur Deus requievisse die septima. Primo quidem, quia die septima cessavit novas creaturas condere ... [septima die Deus aliquid operatus est, non novam creaturam condendo, sed creaturam administrando, et ad propriam operationem eam movendo.—Quæst. lxxiii. Art. 1.] ¶ AD PRIMUM ergo dicendum, quod Deus *usque modo operatur*, conservando, et administrando creaturam conditam, non autem novam creaturam condendo."—S. Thomæ Aquin. Sum. Theol. Part. i. Quæst. lxxiii. Art. 3, tom. ii. p. 213. Ed. Cajetan.—Cf. item Quæst. ciii. Art. 1—8; civ. Art. 1, 2.]

[l] ["Iste quippe dies judicii proprie jam vocatur, eo quod nullius ibi erit imperitæ querelæ locus, cur injustus ille sit felix, et cur justus ille infelix. Omnium namque tunc non nisi bonorum vera et plena felicitas, et omnium non nisi malorum digna et summa infelicitas apparebit."—S. Augustin. De Civitate Dei, lib. xx. c. 1, tom. vii. p. 574. Ed. Benedict.]

man that calls on the name of Christ, depart from iniquity." If he do not that, he is not Christ's; let him talk of predestination while he will. And in these, and all other causes of God, try them where you will, and how you can, David and Saint Paul agree upon it; "He will be justified in His sayings, and clear, and overcome when He is judged." Ps. li. 4. Rom. iii. 4.

Well, God's cause is at trial: but what cause of His is it that is particularly meant in this place? For, if it be God's, it is worth the knowing, whatever it be; and no cause of His can be here, but men owe it, as well as Him, some duty; and therefore necessary to be known, that due may be performed unto it.

Now, "the cause of God," meant here, though it be proposed as *causa una*, one cause, yet it is very large, and comprehends many particulars under it. Some directly concern God, and some only by reflex. But God is so tender of His justice and His honour, that nothing can so much as touch upon Him, but it is God's cause presently: "Inasmuch as ye have done it, or not done it, to one of these little ones, you have done it, or not done it, to Me." Matt. xxv. 45. And so goes the text, "God's cause," all, and but one, whether it be directed against Him, or reflected upon Him; whether it be the reproach which the Son of God suffered for us, or the troubles and afflictions which we suffer for Him, it is God's cause still, and accounted as one.

As one: And yet I find three things agreed upon, to be principally contained in this cause of God. First, the magistrate, and his power and justice. And resist either of these, and ye resist "the power, and the ordinance of God." Calvin. iv. Inst. 20. sect. 23.[m] There is God's cause plain. And the eye of nature could see *aliquid Divinum*, somewhat that was divine in the governors and orderers of commonwealths. In their very office; inasmuch as they are singled out to be the ministers of Rom. xiii. 2. Arist. i. Eth. c. 2.[n]

[m] ["Quare nulli jam dubium esse debet quin civilis potestas, vocatio sit, non modo coram Deo sancta et legitima, sed sacerrima etiam, et in tota mortalium vita longe omnium honestissima .... significatur mandatum eos (sc. Magistratus) a Deo habere, divina auctoritate præditos esse, ac omnino Dei personam sustinere, Cujus vices quodammodo agunt."—Calvin. Instit. iv. 20, sect. 4, p. 398. Ed. Amstelod. 1667.]

[n] [εἰ γὰρ καὶ ταὐτόν ἐστιν ἑνὶ καὶ πόλει, μεῖζόν γε καὶ τελειότερον τὸ τῆς πόλεως φαίνεται καὶ λαβεῖν καὶ σώζειν· ἀγαπητὸν μὲν καὶ ἑνὶ μόνῳ· κάλλιον δὲ καὶ θειότερον ἔθνει καὶ πόλεσιν.—Aristot. Ethic. Nicom. lib. i. c. 2, in fine.]

SERMON V.

divine Providence upon earth; and are expressly called the officers of God's kingdom. And, therefore, the School concludes, "that any the least irreverence of a King, as to dispute of his judgments, and whether we ought to follow and obey him, *sacrilegium dicitur*, is justly extended to be called sacrilege." And since all sacrilege is a violation of something that is holy, it is evident that the office and person of the King is sacred;—sacred, and therefore cannot be violated by the hand, tongue, or heart of any man; that is, by deed, word, or thought;—but it is God's cause, and He is violated in him. And here Kings may learn, if they will, I am sure it is fit they should, that those men which are sacrilegious against God and His Church, are, for the very neighbourhood of the sin, the likeliest men to offer violence to the honour of princes first, and their persons after.

Wisd. vi. 3. Thom. ii. 2. Q. 99. A. 1, [ad] primum.°

Secondly:—The cause of the Church, in what kind soever it be,—be it in the cause of truth, or in the cause of unity, or in the cause of right and means,—it is God's cause too: and it must needs be so; for Christ and His Church are "head and body:" and, therefore, they must needs have one common cause. One cause; and you cannot corrupt the Church in her truth, or persecute her for it, nor distract her from her unity, nor impoverish and abuse her in her means, but God suffers in the oppression. Nay more, no man can wilfully corrupt the Church in her doctrine, but he would have a false God; nor persecute the profession of the Church, but he would have no God; nor rent the Church into sects, but he would have many gods; nor make the Church base, but he would pluck God as low, were God as much in his power as the Church is; and, therefore, the Church's cause is God's cause. And

Eph. i. 22, 23.

° ["CONCL. Omne illud, quod ad irreverentiam rerum sacrarum pertinet, ad injuriam Dei pertinet, et habet sacrilegii rationem. ¶ PROB. Quia ex eo, quod aliquid deputatur ad cultum Dei, efficitur quoddam divinum, et consequenter reverentia ei exhibita refertur in Deum, irreverentiaque in injuriam Dei. 1. *De Majori. Committunt sacrilegium, (qui de principis judicio disputant,* Q. xvii. c. 4.) RESP. Secundum quandam similitudinem. §. In quantum scilicet principes sunt ministri Dei, intuendo bonum publicum, &c. ¶ AD PRIMUM, ergo dicendum quod secundum Philosoph. in 1. Ethic. bonum commune gentis est quoddam divinum: et ideo antiquitus rectores reipublicæ divini vocabantur, quasi divinæ providentiæ ministri, secundum illud (Sap. 6). *Cum essetis ministri regni illius, non recte judicastis.* Et sic per quandam nominis extensionem illud, quod pertinet ad irreverentiam principis, scilicet disputare de ejus judicio, an oporteat ipsum sequi, secundum quandam similitudinem sacrilegium dicitur."—S. Thom. Aquin. Secunda Secundæ, Quæst. xcix. Art. i. tom. vi. p. 65. Ed. Cajetan.]

as Eusebius tells us, when by Stephen, Bishop of Laodicea, the state of that Church was much hazarded; it, and the means of it, were mightily upheld by God Himself. And Elias Cretensis[q] goes full upon it in the general. It is "God's cause," any controversy that He debates against His "enemies."

Lib. vii. Hist. c. 32.[p]

In S. [Gregor.] Naz. Orat. iv.[q]

Now this ever holds true, in whatsoever the Church suffers for the name of God and Christ. And therefore if either State or Church will have their "cause" God's, the State must look their proceedings be just, and the Church must look their devotions and actions be pious. Else, if the State be all in wormwood and injustice; if the Church savour of impurity and irreligion; if either of these threaten either body, neither can call upon God then. For sin is their own and the devil's "cause," no "cause" of God's, who punishes sin ever, but never "causes" it.

Thirdly:—It is "God's cause," which is directly against Himself, when injustice that He will not, or weakness that He cannot, "arise" and "help," are most unworthily, nay, blasphemously, cast upon Him. The very text, you see, calls it no less than "blasphemy." And as Saint Basil[r] tells us, it was *audacter effusa*, most audaciously cast into the face of God. But how, I pray? How? why, they persecuted the Church of Christ with great extremities, and then because God did not always, and in all particulars, deliver it, *Deum*

[in loc.]

[p] [*καθίσταται Στέφανος· λόγων μὲν φιλοσόφων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παρ' Ἕλλησι παιδείας, παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς θαυμασθείς· οὐχ ὁμοίως γε μὲν περὶ τὴν θείαν πίστιν διατεθειμένος, ὡς προϊὼν ἐ τοῦ διωγμοῦ καιρὸς ἀπήλεγξεν· εἴρωνα μᾶλλον δειλόν τε καὶ ἄνανδρον, ἤπερ ἀληθῆ φιλόσοφον ἀπυδείξας τὸν ἄνδρα. Οὐ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ γε καταστρέφειν ἤμελλε τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ἀνορθοῦται δ' αὐτὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ πάντων σωτῆρος, αὐτίκα τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος ἀναδειχθείς, Θεόδοτος· πράγμασιν αὐτοῖς κ. τ. λ.*—Eusebii Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. c. 32, tom. i. pp. 370, 371. Ed. Reading.

Laud, in common with the old interpreters, seems to have referred the phrase *πρὸς αὐτοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ πάντων σωτῆρος* to the word *ἀνορθοῦται*, with a full stop after *σωτῆρος*. But Reading, by a different punctuation of the passage, more correctly connects these words with *ἐπίσκοπος ἀναδειχθείς*, and reminds us that *ἀνορθοῦται* is not to be taken as *passive*.]

[q] [The Greek commentary of the Metropolitan Elias Cretensis on several of the orations of S. Gregory Nazianzen exists, says Fabricius, (Ed. Harles, vol. viii. p. 430), in the library of Basle. It was translated into Latin by Billius, and published in his edition of Paris, 1630, in 2 vols. folio. The oration of S. Gregory, the fourth in the old editions, the fifth in the Benedictine, the commentary upon which is alluded to by Laud, is the Second Invective against the Emperor Julian. The references to S. Gregory's oration are, tom. i. p. 147, Ed. Benedict.; and tom. i. p. 109, Ed. Billii; and to Elias Cretensis, tom. ii. p. 425, Ed. Billii.]

[r] ["Illi vero multas contra te blasphemias audacter effudcrunt."—[Pseudo] S. Basil. Schol. in Psalm. in loc.]

Sermon V.

ut infirmum traducebant, they accused God of impotency. Rabshakeh's case, before Christ in the flesh: "Which of the gods have delivered the nations that serve them, that the Lord should deliver Jerusalem?" Pilate's case to Christ: "Have I not power to crucify Thee, and power to loose Thee?" Julian's case, after Christ: for while he raged against the Christians, he turned the contumely upon God; and charged Omnipotence with weakness. So you see the "cause of God" what it is, and withal that it is many, and but one. Many in the circumference of His creatures, which fill up the State and the Church; and yet but one in the point of that indivisible centre, which is Himself.

4 [2] Kings xviii. 35. John xix. 10. Elias Cret. in [S. Gregor.] Naz. Orat. iv.[s]

Well, we have found "God's cause" as it is tumbled upon the earth: but what is it the prophet would have God do to it? What? Why that follows: *judica,* "plead" it, "judge" it, "maintain" it, Lord—for the King and the State; for Thy Church and service; for Thyself and Thine honour's sake—Thou hast made their cause Thine own, therefore "maintain" it, as Thou dost Thine own.

Now this God is never wanting to do, nor never will be. So far as justice and religion make "the cause" His, He will "plead" it first, and "maintain" it after. But yet He doth not this always with a judgment that is visible to us; nor with such a one as will make enemies confess that God's "maintenance" is on our part. And therefore as Ruffinus[t] thinks, these words are not only a prayer, that God would

[in loc.]

[s] ["Dei autem causam, controversiam eam (David) appellat, quæ ipsi cum hostibus suis intercesserat. Non enim satis habebat Julianus adversus Christianos furere: verumetiam adversus ipsummet Deum contumeliam suam et petulantiam exercebat, non secus videlicet atque ii, qui Judæos olim servitute premebant. Deumque etiam ut infirmum et imbecillem traducebant." — Elias Cretensis, c. 29, in S. Gregor. Naz. Orat. iv. (al. v.) tom. ii. p. 458. Ed. Billii.]

[t] ["Sicut pro confitentibus postulavit veniam, ita nunc pro perseverantibus in peccato Deum excitat ad vindictam. Unde non tam orando, quam prophetando subjungit: *Exurge Deus, judica causam Tuam.* Causam quam nos suscepimus defendendam, fac eis apparere justam, scilicet quia sic oportuit pati Christum et resurgere a mortuis, et sic intrare in gloriam Suam. *Exurge,* ut judices. Nisi enim prius resurgas a mortuis, minime judicabis. Nam non venturus esset ad judicium, nisi quia surrexit a mortuis. Christus venturus prænuntiabatur, venit sicut scriptura prædixit. Implevit justitiam, prædicavit vitam æternam. Et tamen contemptus est in terris, et adhuc contemnitur in cœlis. Hoc est propter quod venturus est ad judicium omnipotens Deus, ibique causam Suam demonstraturus et judicaturus, ostendet quam justam causam habuit, quam injustam pœnam sustinuit; et in quibus culpam inveniet districte judicabit."—Ruffin. in Ps. lxxiii. Comment. p. 176. Ed. Lugd. 1570.]

"arise, and maintain His cause:" but that He would so plead it, that He would make the justice and right of it appear to enemies and opposers: and the maintenance evident to friends and defenders of it. So, "maintain Thy cause," is as much, in effect, as, make the world know it is Thine, and Thou wilt "maintain" it. That from God's "maintenance," the cause may have safety: and from our hope of "maintenance," we may receive comfort.

Why, but why should God "plead," "judge," and "maintain His own cause?" Is the prayer of the prophet just? Yes, no question. For, the "cause of God" is ever just, and therefore ought ever to be "maintained." Nor is it any partiality in God to "His own cause," that He comes to "judge" it. But He is forced, as it were, to the "maintenance" of it Himself, partly, because some men will not, and some men cannot, "defend His cause;" and partly, because it must be judged at some tribunal. Now there lie many appeals in the cause of God. And all appeal is to a superior Court: the highest is God's. Therefore when malice and tyranny hath done what it can to "God's cause," if His servants do but appeal, as they ever do; the "cause" must in the end revolve to God Himself, who alone hath no superior. Yet His very enemies need not fear: for He will so "plead" and "judge His own cause," that their own consciences shall tell them His judgment is right.

Now one thing which lays a kind of necessity upon God to "maintain His own cause," is, as I told you, that some men will not, and some men cannot, "maintain" it. I find both these touched in the text.

First, they that will not. For these words, "Arise, O God, and maintain Thine own cause," are a grievous tax upon all them to whom God hath given means and ability, yet will not stir to succour His cause. For it is as if he had said, Men will not maintain Thy cause; if Thou wilt have it defended Thou must do it Thyself. The Jews, it seems, were now very guilty of this, else the prophet would never have run with that earnestness to God. He would have prayed to God, had men been never so willing; yes, God forbid else; but had they done their duty, the extremity had not been feared. And mark and tremble at the curse of God which was called for upon some of that people for this sin. "Curse

Sermon V.

ye Meroz, saith the Angel of the Lord, curse the inhabitants thereof." Why? "Because they came not up to help the Lord, to help the Lord against the mighty." To "help the Lord." Why, what cause of God was this? What? Why, it was His cause of war against Sisera, as appears, Judg. iv.; against Sisera, yet to "help the Lord."

Judg. v. 23.

Judg iv. [2.]

And certainly it is a great and grievous error in any people, as well as in Israel,—and in any age of the world as well as in that,—to fast, and pray, and call upon God to "arise and maintain His cause" and their own joined with it; if, in the mean time, they will put nor hand nor purse to "maintain" either their own, or God's; their own in the State, or God's in the Church. These men perhaps are of Tiberius's mind, *Deorum injuriæ Diis curæ;* and what that oracle meant, when he writ so to the Senate; whether, it belongs to God to vindicate His own cause;—or, God will be sure to do it; or, let His cause sink if He will not defend it;—I am not certain. This I am sure of, God can defend Himself *sine patrocinio nostro,* without any aid of ours. But yet if we come not in to help, when the "cause of God" is deposited with us, the fear is, and it is just, that God will "maintain His cause," and leave us to "maintain" our own.

Tacit. lib. i. Annal.[u]

Calv. iii. Inst. c. 23. sect. 2.[x]

Secondly:—They that cannot. For these words, "Arise, O God, maintain Thine own cause," imply disability in man, as well as malice. For it is as if he had said, Men cannot at all times maintain Thy cause; if Thou wilt have it defended, Thou must do it Thyself. And this is true of the strongest of the sons of men, if they be left to themselves. But this, though it puts us in more fear, yet it makes us not half so guilty. For guilt follows malice more than impotency. And our weakness and disability is such, that we are not able to hold up against so many and great enemies, as the

[u] ["Rubrio crimini dabatur, 'violatum perjurio nomen Augusti. Quæ ubi Tiberio notuere, scripsit consulibus; 'Non ideo decretum patri suo cœlum, ut in perniciem civium is honor verteretur.... Nec contra religiones fieri, quod effigies ejus, ut alia numinum simulachra, venditionibus hortorum et domuum accedant. Jusjurandum perinde æstimandum, quam si Jovem fefellisset: Deorum injuriæ Diis curæ.'" —Tacit. Annal. i. c. 73, tom. i. pp. 76, 77. Ed. Brotier.]

[x] ["Hoc, inquam, freno bene continebitur quisquis de arcanis Dei sui cum reverentia philosophari volet. Adversus impiorum audaciam, qui Deo palam maledicere non formidant, Dominus Ipse sua justitia, sine nostro patrocinio, satis se defendet, quum eorum conscientiis omnem tergiversationem adimendo, convictas stringet, reasque peraget."—Calvin. Instit. iii. c. 23, sect. 2, p. 252.]

"cause of God" hath. This was the case of Hezekiah; he durst not trust to himself and his own strength against the host of Assyria; therefore to his prayers he went. "O Lord God, do Thou save us out of his hand:" which is all one with the text, "Arise, and maintain Thine own cause." But I pray take this with you. When Hezekiah prayed thus, the people were in arms: no deserting the cause, though no self-ability could hold it up.

4 [2] Kings xix. 19.

2 Chron. xxxii. 6.

But what enemies had the "cause of God" then, or hath at this day, that such earnest prayers were then, and are now, made, that God would "arise and maintain it?" Do you ask what "enemies?" I will tell you; perhaps I shall not be able to tell you all: but what my text tells me, I will shew you. First, the text tells me, the "enemies" that came up against God's cause were "fierce," and had got some hope of advantage; implied in this, that the Israelites were fain to call for "maintenance" and supply against them. Next the text tells me, these "enemies" were thought too "cunning" and too "strong" for Israel, to whom the defence of "God's cause" was then committed; implied in this, that they were fain to fly to God, and call Him in to His own defence; a sign, that all seconds were too weak. Thirdly, the "enemies" were "many," and not like to be beaten or mastered at once; and that is expressed, "a multitude of enemies." And last of all, they were as "cruel," as "strong" and "numerous;" for so we read, where they are called "roaring enemies,"—a name which ever had some affinity with "the devil." So in all likelihood nothing remained but to get God to be absent, and then they might easily swallow His people and His "cause" together. To prevent this was the prophet's prayer, and so it is ours this day. For so the psalm begins: "O God," considering how thy cause is straitened, "wherefore art Thou absent from us so long?" And it ends at "Arise, and maintain Thy cause" against them.

Ver. 20.

Ver. 5.

1 Pet. v. 8.

[Ver. 1.]

And the form of the prophet's prayer is very considerable too, and a great example to the Church of Christ. The prayer is, that "God would arise, and maintain His cause." The first thing the prophet aims at is the "cause;" the equity and right that belongs to it, not the respect it had to

SERMON V.

persons. And this, out of question, is the way of justiee, to honour the person for the eause, not to esteem the eause of the person. Now men for the most part go a cross way to this; and, therefore, when they will eome into the way of justiee I cannot tell. For usually all business is sided into parties. It is no matter for the "cause," let who will "maintain" that simply for itself. If it make for us and our party, so far we will "maintain" it; else, be it "God's eause," or whose it will, whether it sink or swim, it shall not trouble us. And I doubt as the praetice of too many men is, so is their prayer; for the faetion, and the party, all; not the "eause," either as it is God's, the Chureh's, or the State's. And parties are ever private ends. The "cause," as it is God's, the Chureh's, or the kingdom's, is ever common, ever fit to be made the object of our prayers.

Yet this advantage may here be had: if ever you may safely prefer the person before the eause, and yet be just, you may do it here. God, before "His own cause." And the reason is, beeause God, as He ean never tender an unjust eause to His people, so is He justiee itself; and ever juster than any eause of His that is without Him. Therefore, whatsoever others do, "Arise, O God, and maintain Thyself, and Thine own eause." "Maintain" it even from
Ver. 21. "heaven;" there is no great trust to the "earth, for that is full of darkness, and cruel habitations."

Now all this while we have almost forgotten who it is
Epist. Fabio. de xlii. Mans. Ma. iii [y] et Elias Cret. in Naz. Orat. iv.[z] that makes this prayer. Saint Hierome tells me, and he is not alone in the opinion, the psalm was David's, and therefore the prayer too. As a prophet, he foresaw the danger, and as a King he went on direetly to the highest remedy. And though Kings now are not prophets, yet it is a great blessing upon any kingdom to have the King a seer so far as is possible. To have him with both eyes open. His

[y] ["*Tertia Mansio. Et profecti de Soccoth castrametati sunt in Etham* ... ETHAM nobiscum sonat *fortitudo* et *perfectio*, de qua et David eanit; (Ps. lxxiii. 15.) *Tu dirupisti fluvios Etham*, id est, *fortes*."—["Thou driedst up mighty waters," Eng. vers.]—S. Hieronym. Epistola ad Fabiolam de xlii. Mansionibus Israelitarum in deserto, tom. ii. p. 589. Ed. Benedict.]

[z] ["Quin Davidis quoque sunt ea, quæ sequuntur. (Ps. lxxiii.) *Exurge enim Deus*, inquit, *judica causam Tuam*."—Elias Cretensis in S. Greg. Nazianz. ut sup. p. 134.]

right eye open, and up to heaven, for God to maintain him; and his other eye downwards, but open, upon his people, to take care of them, and maintain them, with the same support that he hath received from God. And herein, above other nations, we are blessed this day; I say again, above other nations; if we can see our blessing, and be thankful. For the King keeps his eye as steady upon God, as if he had no help below Him; and yet, at the same time, as gracious an eye upon his people, to relieve their just grievances, as if he were more ready to help them than to receive help from them.

"Let not your hearts be troubled, neither fear." Here are two Kings at once at prayer for you, David and your own King. They are up, and calling upon God to "arise." For shame lag not behind God and your King. You have been, and I hope are, a valiant nation; let nothing dead your spirits in God's and your country's service; and if any man drop malignant poison into your ears, pour it back into his own bosom. John xiv. 1.

And, Sir, as you were first up, and summoned the Church to awake, and have sounded an alarum in the ears of your people; not that they should "fast and pray," and "serve God" alone, but go with you into the house of the Lord; so go on to serve your Preserver. Your merit, and the nobleness of your heart, will glue the hearts of your people to you. And your religious care of "God's cause" and service will make Him, I doubt not, "arise," and haste to the "maintenance" of your cause, as of "His own." Only in these, and all times of difficulty, "be strong, and of a good courage, keep close to the law of the Lord." Be full of counsel, and then resolute to act it. Else, if you shall not be firm to deliberated counsels, they which are bound to serve you, may seek and find opportunities to serve themselves upon you. This do, and "God arise, and be with you, as He was with Moses." This do; and as Saint Chrysostom speaks, *aut non habebis inimicum, aut irridebis eum:* either [Josh. i. 7] Josh. i. 17. Homil. xiv. in Epist. ad Hebr.[a]

[a] [ἂν ἵλεων πρῶτον τὸν Θεὸν ποιήσωμεν τῇ ἐντεύξει καὶ τῇ ἱκετηρίᾳ, οὕτω προβαίνοντες οὐδένα ἕξομεν ἐχθρόν· κἂν ἔχῃς δὲ, καταγελάσῃ, ἵλεων ἔχων τὸν θεόν.—S. Chrysostom. Hom. xiv. in Epist. ad Hebr. tom. xii. p. 147. Ed. Benedict.]

SERMON V.

you shall have no enemy, or you shall be able to scorn him the world over.

The second thing which the prophet would have God do when He is "risen," is, that He would "remember how the foolish man blasphemeth Him daily."

The enemies of God's truth, and of the peace of His people, it seems, do not only seek to overthrow "His cause," but, base and uncivilly irreligious as they are, they fly upon His person too; for so you see the text changes from the thing to the person; "maintain Thy cause;" but remember the reproach runs against Thyself, "they blaspheme Thee." And by this you may see how dangerous a thing it is for any men, or any States, to become enemies to the "cause of God." For sin will not stay till it have wrought them farther, even into enmity against God Himself. And therefore, this sin here, a high and a presumptuous sin, is not called "the presumption" of them that hate "God's cause," but of "them which hate God Himself."

Ver. 24.

"Presumption" easily falls to "reproach" goodness itself. But what "reproach" is it these "enemies" cast upon God? What? Why it was in the highest degree. It was "blasphemy." For so Saint Basil[b] renders my text. And so it is called again, verses 11 and 19. You may be sure the prophet mistook it not; it went not single; there were more than one; and Theodoret[c] calls them *execrationes*, cursings and revilings of God.

[in loc.]

Vv. 11. 19.

[in loc.]

And men of all sorts, as well as usurping enemies, had need be watchful over this sin. For a man may quickly be within the borders of it, before he be aware; especially if he be bold and busy with the "cause of God," as it is reserved and secret in himself. For since all blasphemy is a derogation of some excellency, chiefly in God, the School collects, and truly, that "whosoever denies to God any attribute that is

Tho. ii. 2. Q. 13. A. 1. c.[d]

[b] ["Illi vero multas contra Te blasphemias audacter effuderunt." [Pseudo] S. Basil. in loc. p. 176; v. sup. p. 133.]

[c] ["Ego juste hæc perpessus sum, illi vero multas exercitationes [execrationes?] in te ausi sunt .... non propter se ipsos, sed propter illos obsecrantes."—Theodoret. (Lat. vers. apud Cat. in Bibl. Lat. cum Gloss. Ordinar.) in loc.—ἐκεῖνοι δὲ πολλὰς ἐτόλμησαν κατὰ σοῦ βλασφημίας.—Theodoret. Interpret in Psalmos, tom. i. p. 695. Ed. Sirmond.]

[d] ["*Utrum blasphemia opponatur confessioni fidei.* AD PRIMUM, sic proceditur. Videtur, quod blasphemia non opponatur confessioni fidei. Nam blasphemare est contumeliam, vel aliquod convicium ferre in inju-

due unto Him, or affirms any of God that is not agreeable to His nature, is within the confines of blasphemy." Entered, though perhaps not so far gone. But these "enemies," it seems, stuck at no degree of "blasphemy;" spared God Himself no more than "His cause;" and what reason can this State or Church have, to think these "enemies," or their like, that spared not God nor "His cause," will, if they have power enough, spare them or theirs?

But I pray, who or what manner of "enemy" was it that made thus bold with God? Who? why my text answers that too; *stultus fuit*, it was "the foolish man;" and you may know so much by his boldness. We find there was a "fool that blasphemed God," but it was "in his heart." Out of his mouth he durst not let it go; not once. And this "fool" was in the same fear at first; for his "blasphemy kept in his heart." But now he was grown impudent, it brake out at his lips; for as Saint Basil, and others,[e] observe, he did *palam maledicere*, "blaspheme" at large.

Ps. xiv. 1.

Ver. 9. [in loc.]

Cal. iii. Inst. c. 23. sect. 2.[e]

The prophet, no question, knew these "enemies," what they were, and that they had other names beside "fools;" but he fits them with their name of merit; that they deserved, that he gives them. I told you these "enemies" were cunning, subtle enemies. And it is true; but malignity against God's cause, and "blasphemy" against His Person, will make the greatest wisdom in the world turn "fool." And folly dares adventure anything against man; nay, against God too; which is alike true of the fool at home, and the fool abroad.

The prophet prayed against their "enemies," as we do

riam Creatoris: sed hoc magis pertinet ad malevolentiam contra Deum, quam ad infidelitatem: ergo, etc. . . . ¶ Respondeo dicendum, quod nomen blasphemiæ importare videtur quandam derogationem alicujus excellentis bonitatis, et præcipue divinæ . . . . . Unde quicquid Deo convenit, pertinet ad bonitatem Ipsius, et quicquid ad Ipsum non pertinet, longe est a ratione perfectæ bonitatis, quæ est Ejus essentia. Quicunque ergo vel negat aliquid de Deo, quod Ei convenit, vel asserit de Eo, quod Ei non convenit, derogat divinæ bonitati . . . derogat divinæ bonitati non solum secundum vanitatem intellectus, sed etiam secundum pravitatem voluntatis detestantis; et impedientis pro posse, Divinum honorem: quod est blasphemia perfecta." — S. Thom. Aquin. Secunda Secundæ, Quæst. xiii. Art. 1. tom. v. pp. 147, 148. Ed. Cajetan.]

[e] [V. sup. pp. 133. 136. Cf. also S. Basil. adv. Eunomium, lib. ii. 19, tom. i. p. 254. Ed. Benedict.]

SERMON V.

now against ours: "O my God, make them as a wheel." And see in what a wheel they are: the worst that ever moved. For their "blasphemy" carries their wisdom round into "folly;" and their "folly" turns their malice round into higher degrees of "blasphemy." Thus is this enemy no sooner a "blasphemer," but a "fool;" and no sooner a "fool," but a greater "blasphemer." So "blasphemy" is punished with "folly," and "folly" with "blasphemy." There is the wheel, both in the sin, and the punishment.

Ps. lxxxiii. 13.

And I pray observe: these enemies, that beset God's cause at Jerusalem, were a nation. And so some read here: not the "foolish man," but the "foolish people." And a powerful nation they were, were they Babylonians, Syrians, or Romans. And one of them they were. And yet you see the prophet gives them no other, no better, name, than "fool," when they violently persecute "God's cause." Indeed they deserve it. And this sin is as able to "fool" a whole "nation" as a particular man. Nay, the Holy Ghost here speaks of them as of "one man." As if "blasphemy" could change a whole "nation" into one "fool." And surely, it is no hard thing with "God to make the wisdom of the whole world foolishness." And it is as easy with Him to confound the wisdom of a whole nation, as of one Ahithophel.

["inimicos Romanos." —Euthym. "Babyloniorum blasphemantium." —Nic. de Lira.]

1 Cor. i. 20.

2 Sam. xvii. 14.

And see, I beseech you, how their sins continue: once a "fool" in this kind, and an "enemy" to "God's cause," and a "blasphemer" of His person ever after, without a great deal of mercy. And this is noted in the circumstance *tota die*, and *quotidie*, "daily," and "all the day long" at this "blasphemy:" and it is usual this with "enemies," "all the day [long]; for their study is upon it." And "every day;" for these "enemies" were the same in "blasphemy," the day of their "preparation," the day of their fight, and the day of their victory. And Ruffinus observes,[f] that this "blasphemy" grew in the continuance. And either it derided

[Ps. cxix. 97.]

[in loc.]

[f] ["*Memor esto improperiorum tuorum, eorum quæ ab insipiente sunt tota die.* Insipiens est quidam, non cognovit, aut cognoscens perversa vivit. Tales improperant Domino Deo, et membris Ejus, modo blasphemando, modo deridendo, modo minando, modo adulando. Et talium memor erit Deus judicio, ut judicet et damnet."—Ruffin. p. 176, ut sup. p. 134.]

God in His servants, or it menaced men for serving God. How it flattered itself there while against both man and God, is thus far apparent in the text: that they never durst have been daily "blasphemers" against God, if they had not been opinators at least, that God could never have "maintained" and made good His cause against them.

It is too much to see "the cause of God" opposed, to hear the name of God "blasphemed," were it but once; but "all the day long, and every day," is a tentation almost insupportable to Christian and religious hearts. Yet this we must be inured to hear against King and Church, and God Himself, if we take not better course than hitherto we have done to keep out the "enemy" and his "blasphemy."

Against this it was time for the prophet, and it is time for us, to pray. The "blasphemy" of an "enemy" is a very urgent motive to make men pray. And the prayer of the prophet here, "that God would remember the blasphemer," was very fervent. For he begins this prayer at "remember the rebuke of the enemy;" and he ends his prayer with "remember the blasphemy of this fool: remember and forget it not." This was the prophet's zeal for "God's cause;" and you may learn by it that cold prayers are not they which remove the "blasphemy" of enemies. "The prayers indeed of but one righteous man doth [avail] much," but it is when they are "fervent."

Ver. 20.

Ver. 23.

Ver. 24.

Jas. v. 16.

But you will say, What need all this calling upon God to "remember?" Is it possible He should forget? Not possible, certainly. But then, as before, though God cannot "sleep," yet to awaken, not Him but, our poor understanding concerning Him, the prayer was, "Arise, O God:" so here, though God cannot "forget," yet because in His providence He sometimes carries Himself, to our sense and apprehension,

S. Hieronym. in Thren. v.[g]

[g] ["*Recordare, Domine, quid acciderit nobis*, &c. Usus prophetarum est, frequenter per humanas consuetudines Dominum supplicare. Recordare enim, vel memento, illi dicitur, qui nullius aliquando potuit oblivisci. Non enim ut ad memoriam redeat divinitas commonetur, coram qua omne præteritum et futurum semper præsens est. Non est dignum in illa majestate ponere oblivionis injuriam; sed ideo recordari, vel meminisse, postulatur, ut cito auxilium indigentibus conferat: et palam faciat quod antea fuit occultum."—[Pseudo] S. Hieronym. in Lamentationes Jeremiæ, c. v. (*i.e.* in Orationem Jeremiæ), tom. v. p. 839. Ed. Benedict.]

SERMON V.

Hos. i. 6.

ad modum obliviscentis, as if He did forget, and threatens that He will forget, *oblivione obliviscar eorum :* forgetting, I will forget them : therefore here again the prayer runs after the manner of men ; "Arise, O Lord ! yes, and remember too."

Why ? but since here is "enmity" against the "cause of God," and "blasphemy" against himself, why doth the prophet ask no more of God but that He would "remember" this ? Why ? why certainly it is because there is abundantly enough of that. He knew if God did "remember," He would punish. And as Saint Jerome observes, He therefore "remembers," that "He may confound in judgment."

[in loc.][h]

Innocent. iii. lib. ii. Mist. Miss. c. 6.[i]

Ps. cxxx. iii. [P.B.V.]

And indeed in God's language to "mark" and "remember," is many times to punish ; and not to "remember," is to forgive sin. "If thou shouldst be extreme to mark and observe," that is, to punish, "what is done amiss." And the Church hath learned not only to speak, but to pray of the prophet. For so the Church prays in the Litany ; not, "punish not," but, "remember not, Lord, our offences." And therefore the prophet's prayer was home enough, "remember, Lord :" yes, do but that, and we either have, or shall have, enough, and our enemies too. We, I hope, of deliverance and preservation, and they, of punishment.

Thus you have heard the prophet's prayer, and I hope made your own, that "God would arise" and bestir Himself. And what he desired God would do, both for State and Church, when He was "risen," that is, that "He would plead and maintain His own cause." And "remember," that is,

[h] ["*Exurge Deus,* &c. Pro his improperiis quæ vel tu sustinuisti pro nobis : vel nunc Ecclesia sustinet. *Memor esto,* &c. Ut in judicio confundantur."—[Pseudo] S. Hieronym. Brev. in Psalter. Ps. lxxiii. Appen. tom. ii. p. 306. Ed. Benedict.]

[i] ["Verum cum Dominus nihil ignoret, nec alicujus valeat oblivisci, quid est quod petimus ut Deus nostri meminerit ? Porro Deus dicitur scire, quos approbat ? Unde, *Novit Dominus qui sunt Ejus.* Et dicitur nescire quos reprobat. Unde, *Non novi vos.* Rursus dicitur oblivisci malorum, cum malus ad bonum convertitur. Unde, *Si impius egerit pœnitentiam, omnium iniquitatum ejus non recordabor.* Deus quandoque ergo recordatur ad miserendum. Unde, *Memento mei Deus, quia ventus est vita mea.* Quandoque recordatur ad puniendum. Unde, *Memento Domine filiorum Edom in die Hierusalem.* Ergo petimus, ut non tantum meminerit, sed hic petimus ut postea misereatur."—Pap. Innocent. III. De Sacro Altaris Mysterio, lib. iii. c. 6, p. 47 B. Lipsiæ, 1533.]

punish in His own time the "blasphemy" of all them that reproach or detract from it or Him.

One thing yet remains, and it is fit to be thought upon this day, every day, all the day long. And that is, what it is that makes God a protector of any King, any State, any national Church, against either inbred or foreign "enemies;" against the fox at home and the lion abroad. And that certainly is, for the State to go on with honour and justice. And for the Church to labour devotion as much at least [as], if not more than, knowledge. For else "God's cause" and ours may be two. And then God may "arise, and maintain His own," but leave us to the "famine," to the "pestilence," to the "sword," to any other "judgment."

The only way to make God "arise" as soon as ever we call, nay, to prevent our call, and come in to help before we pray, is, for both King and people, State and Church, to weave their "cause" and God's together: to incorporate them so that no cunning of the devil may be able to separate them. For then the benefit is apparent. God cannot "arise and maintain His own cause," but He must "maintain" ours too, because it is one with His. And His own doubt you not He will maintain, against the proudest "enemy" that can come against it. And certainly the greatest hope and confidence of God's assistance to any nation, to any man, that can precede deliverance itself, is to make their "cause" all one with God's; and that is done by upholding His, and conforming theirs.

Our safety then is when our "cause" is one with God's: our danger when they differ. But what is it that puts the difference between them? What? why, that which put the first enmity between God and man, sin. And therefore if we will quit the enmity and be made friends, the only way to reconcile us with God, and our cause with His, is by faith and repentance to banish sin. The sooner this is done, the sooner we are safe: which cannot be till our "cause" be one with God's. One, and yet when it is one, the pre-eminence is still with "God's cause;" we must not suffer ours to step on before Him.

For our "cause," as it is spiritual, and concerns our souls, if it be never so good, never so close joined with God's, yet

Sermon V.

God's is to have the precedence. For be ours never so good, I must beg of your humility to remember that God's grace did both "prevent and follow" to make it so. And therefore we are to put "His cause" first, and to pray chiefly for the maintenance of that which gave worth to ours.

And for our "cause," as it is temporal, and concerns this life only, our safety, life, and livelihood, "God's cause" is to have the precedence of that much more. "Father and mother, wife and children, brethren and sisters, life and all," must be accounted as nothing to "God's cause." And it hath ever been a sign that the soul of a man goes right, that a whole people keep upon God's path, when they "seek first the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof," and leave God to minister and maintain the rest. When they are more tenderly affected to the "cause of God," and more sensible of the reproach or blasphemy of His name, than of any calamities that might or malice can bring upon their persons.

Luke xiv. 26.

Matt. vi. 33.

And yet our giving "God's cause" the precedence in our love to it, and our prayers for it, is no exclusion of our own "cause:" nay, the preferring of God's before our own, and the making of our own conformable to God's, is the way to make God as jealous of our safety from all extremity as He is to vindicate His own honour from reproach and blasphemy. And therefore though the prophet here, as Theodoret observes, doth not say, "Arise, O God, and maintain" *causam meam*, my cause, but "Thine own," yet the same God that will have us prefer His cause, will have us pray for our own likewise. And so the prophet did: for though he be here all for "God's cause," yet we have him very earnest for his own too. "Plead Thou my cause, O Lord, with them that strive with me; and fight Thou against them that fight against me." And "defend my cause, O God, against the ungodly people." Well, then: "Thy cause, O God;" and "my cause, O God." But the rule of practice goes here: God's cause must lead, that ours may follow it, under the protection of God.

[in loc.][k]

Ps. xxxv. 1. [P.B.V.]

Ps. xliii. 1. [P.B.V.]

As we have therefore now begun, so let us pray on as the

[k] [σφόδρα δὲ ἁρμοδίως τὴν αὐτωνυμίαν ἐνήλλαξεν· οὐκ εἶπε τὴν δίκην μοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὴν δίκην σοῦ.—Theodoret. in loc. tom. i. p. 695. Ed. Sirmond. ut sup. p. 140.]

prophet did:—that God, even our gracious Father, will be no longer like unto one that sleeps: that He will "arise," and blow over these fears from us. It is but His breath, and He can dry the clouds, that they drop not rottenness upon our harvest. It is but His breath, and He can clear the air of infection, as well all over the kingdom as He hath beyond admiration done it in our chief city. And it is but the same breath, and He can shake our enemies to pieces in the sea.

That God being "arisen" and come near in providence, will "plead" first, and after "maintain His own cause." "His own" in the hand of the King; "His own" in the heart of the Church; and "His own" in the holiness of His name. That He will give this State and Church, and every member of both, such grace, that our "cause" may be His, and His "maintenance" ours. That He will "remember," and that is enough, that if "His cause" be ours, our "enemies" are His. That we may so order our lives by His grace, that if these or any "enemies" will "blaspheme," it may not be Him for our sins, but us for His service. That our enemies and His, how wise soever in other things, yet in their plots and practices against us may be written in the text-letters "FOOLS." That we, being preserved from them, and all other adversity, may take warning in time to mend our lives, and so hereafter live to honour and serve Him, that the world may see that He hath been merciful, and we labour to be thankful. That after the "maintenance of His and our cause" here, we may in our several times be received up to Him in glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord: to Whom, with the Father, &c.

A

SERMON

PREACHED

On Munday, the seauenteenth of

MARCH,

At Westminster:

At the opening of the PARLIAMENT.

By the Biſhop of BATH *and* WELLES.

LONDON,

Printed for *Richard Badger*, and are to be sold by *Hugh Perrie*, at his shop in Brittaines Bursse at the signe of the Harrow, 1628.

[The extracts from the Diary, alluding to this Sermon, are :—

"1627-28. February 5.—Tuesday. The straining of the back sinew of my right leg, as I went with his Majesty to Hampton Court. I kept in till I preached at the opening of the Parliament, March 17, but I continued lame long after . . . .

"March 17.—I preached at the opening of the Parliament; but had much ado to stand; it was Monday."

This accident furnished some, otherwise singular, allusions and illustrations in the Sermon, pp. 170, 177. It was "during this time of Laud's keeping in," that Heylyn, as, "after the precedent of Philip de Comines," he informs us in an amusing passage, pp. 166, 167, "had both the happiness of being taken into his special knowledge, and the opportunity of a longer conference with him." The Sermon itself is evidently constructed with considerable care, and was designed for an important object. Laud had now the leading place in the kingdom, not only from his connexion with Buckingham, but by the King's marked favour. "In the June foregoing, (1627,) his Majesty had acquainted Laud with his intent of nominating him to the See of London, in the place of Mountain," (Heylyn, p. 165,) although the next Session of Parliament was ended before, by Mountain's translation to York, Laud could be translated to London, in July, 1628. The misunderstanding between the King and the lower House had now become serious: two Parliaments had been dismissed summarily; and the third Session commenced under a threatening aspect. Hence the solemn, and almost ominous, and occasionally vehement, tone of the preacher. The "dangerous times" to which he alludes in his Devotions had commenced in earnest; and this Laud felt. The King had, before summoning this Parliament, "released such gentlemen as were formerly imprisoned about the loan; which in effect was but the letting loose of so many hungry lions to pursue and worry him. For being looked upon as confessors, if not martyrs, for the commonwealth, upon the merits of those sufferings they were generally preferred afore all others to serve in Parliament; and, being so preferred, they carried as generally with them a vindictive spirit, to revenge themselves for that restraint, by a restraining of the prerogative within narrower bounds."—(Heylyn, p. 167.) It was before these formidable materials that, "at the opening of this Parliament, March 17, the preaching of the Sermon was committed to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who showed much honest art in persuading them to 'endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit,' &c., which he had taken for his text."—(Ibid.) . . . "Which Sermon, being all of the same piece, so well pleased the hearers, that his Majesty gave command to have it printed. How well it edified with the Commons, when they came to read it, and what thanks he received from them for it, we shall clearly see before we come to the end of this present Session."—(Ibid. p. 168.) The King kept to the key note which the Sermon had struck,

for he concluded his speech from the throne by "hoping that they would follow that counsel lately given them, to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."—(Rushworth, p. 477.) Almost the first business of the Commons was to censure Manwaring, one of the King's chaplains, and rector of St. Giles-in-the-fields, for two Sermons preached, one before the King, and one to his own parishioners, in which he had inculcated the lawfulness of the King's imposing taxes without the consent of Parliament. But "they had a greater game to fly at, than to content themselves with so poor a sacrifice;" and "Manwaring was no sooner censured, but Laud's cause was called to the report," "on a complaint that he had warranted those Sermons to the press." "Some days before, (viz. June 11,) they had voted the Duke of Buckingham to be the cause of all the grievances; and now they were hammering a Remonstrance both against him, and all that depended on him."—(Heylyn, p. 171.) The Remonstrance, presented June 17, complained to the King, in the words of the Epitome given by Heylyn, "that there was a general fear conceived in his people, of some secret working and combination to introduce into this kingdom innovation and change of holy religion. Which fear proceeded (as they said) from the increase of Popery into this kingdom, and the extraordinary favours and respects which they of that religion found in the Court, from persons of great quality and power there, unto whom they continually resort, more especially by name from the Countess of Buckingham, the Duke's mother. Secondly, From some letters written by his Majesty, to stop all legal proceedings against Recusants, and the compositions which had been made with some of them, for such fines and penalties as were laid upon them by the laws, which seemed in their opinion little less than a toleration. Thirdly, From the daily growth and spreading of the faction of the Arminians, that being (as they thought his Majesty knew) but a cunning way to bring in Popery; the professors of those opinions being common disturbers of the Protestant Churches; and incendiaries of those States wherein they have gotten any head, being Protestants in shew, but Jesuits in opinion and practice. Of which growing faction, Neile, Bishop of Winchester, and Laud, Bishop of Bath and Wells, are named particularly for the principal patrons. Fourthly, From some endeavours to suppress the diligent teaching and instructing the people in the true knowledge of Almighty God, by disparaging pious, painful, and orthodox preachers."—(The whole document is given in Rushworth, vol. i. pp. 628-630.) To this Remonstrance Laud himself was commissioned to draw up an answer, after the prorogation of the Parliament, June 26, of which the passage which most concerned the author is, "The next fear is the daily growth and spreading of the Arminian Faction, called a cunning way to bring in Popery: but we hold this charge as great a wrong to ourself and our Government, as the former; for our people must not be taught by a Parliament Remonstrance, or any other way, that we are so ignorant of truth, or so careless of the profession of it, that any opinion, or faction, or whatsoever it be called, should thrust itself so far, and so fast into our kingdoms, without our knowledge of it; this is a mere dream of them that wake, and would make our loyal and loving people think we sleep the while. In this charge there is great wrong done to two eminent Prelates that attend our person; for they are accused, without producing any the least shew or shadow of proof against them; and should they, or any other, attempt innovation of religion, either by that open or any cunning way, we should quickly

take other order with them, and not stay for your Remonstrance."—(Rushworth, part ii. vol. i. p. 2.) Mr. Lawson (Life of Laud, vol. i. pp. 440, 441, note) says, "that there is no authority save Prynne," and that "Laud has been most unjustly charged by Prynne with writing the answer of the King to this seditious Remonstrance." But not only does Heylyn (p. 172) state distinctly that Laud was "commissioned by the King to draw up the answer," but Laud himself acknowledged at his trial, in reply to the charge, "that I made that answer to the Remonstrance which came forth, An. 1628, I did this by the King's command."

In his Diary Laud notices these proceedings :—

"June 14, being Saturday, Dr. Manwaring was censured. After his censure my cause was called to the report; and by God's goodness towards me I was fully cleared in the House. The same day the House of Commons were making their Remonstrance to the King: one head was innovation of religion. Therein they named my Lord the Bishop of Winchester and myself. One in the House stood up and said: Now we have named these persons, let us think of some causes why we did it. Sir Edward Cooke answered, Have we not named my Lord of Buckingham, without showing a cause, and may we not be as bold with them?"

After Buckingham's murder, August 23, Laud, "being before but an inferior minister in the ship of state, is called unto the helm . . . and having obtained this height of power," (Heylyn, p. 177,) "he moved the King to republish the book of Articles, with such a Declaration placed before them, as might preserve them from such misconstructions as had of late been put upon them, and keep them to their native literal and grammatical sense."—(Ibid. p. 178.) This Declaration, now printed in the Prayer-Book, as well as the Proclamation for suppressing Montague's "Appello Cæsarem," Jan. 17, 1628-29, in the preamble recites the words of the text of this Sermon: "We hold it most agreeable to our kingly office and our own religious zeal, to conserve and maintain the Church committed to our charge, in unity of true religion, and in the bond of peace." It may reasonably be conjectured that this celebrated Declaration was not only "by Laud's procurement," but that it was drawn up by him. It seems extraordinary that even Archdeacon Blackburne could so far pervert historical facts, as to insinuate that the Declaration was first prefixed to the Articles by James I. Prynne (Canterburie's Doom, p. 160,) makes it an especial charge against Laud, that this "Declaration was made by this Bishop's instigation [and] procurement, and was so generally reputed not only at home but abroad;" and produces a passage of a letter from Dr. Baron of Aberdeen, which he took from Laud's study, "endorsed with his own hand," dated April 20, 1634, "Piam hanc Amplitudinis Tuæ de pace Ecclesiæ tuenda et conservanda sollicitudinem, illustri specimine jampridem notam omnibus et testatam fecisti, cum Majestas Regia *te authore* et suasore, exitiali isti dissidio de prædestinatione et annexis articulis, quo orbis hic Britannicus fere collidebatur, sua authoritate finem imposuit."—In a previous sentence Prynne speaks distinctly of "the printed Declaration prefixed to the xxxix. Articles, as *compiled by himself* and other Bishops, of which the most part were Arminians." It certainly is remarkable that the Declaration was published without a date; but though Blackburne in his misstatement had been preceded by a writer of such authority as Bishop Gibson, as well as others, the subject has been set at rest by Winchester's Appendix to his Dissertation on the xviith Article, published in the

Churchman's Remembrancer, vol. ii. No. 2, p. 87, &c. All that was needed in this place, was to shew the possible connexion between the Declaration, and this particular Sermon, both in language and date.

With respect to the latter point, the Sermon was preached March 17, 1627-28, and the Parliament was prorogued June 26, to October 20, but did not meet till January 20, and was finally dissolved March 10, 1628-29. The Proclamation about Montague's book is dated January 17, 1628-29, and the Declaration itself was first printed "by Bonham Norton and John Bill, printers to the King's most excellent Majesty, 1628," (Bennet's Essay on the xxxix. Articles, p. 13, n. and p. 365,) probably about the same time: since the Proclamation and Declaration are spoken of together in the King's Vindication of his Dissolution of the Parliament, (Rushworth, vol. i. Appendix, p. 4,) as parts of the same measure. "We did . . . for the satisfaction of the consciences of all good people, not only by our public Proclamation, call in that book . . . but to prevent the like danger for hereafter, reprinted the Articles of Religion . . . and by a Declaration before these Articles," &c.; and it was on January 27, in the first week of their Session, that the Commons entered into their "Vow," "We, the Commons in Parliament assembled, do claim, protest, and avow for truth, the sense of the Articles of Religion, which were established by Parliament in the thirteenth year of our late Queen Elizabeth, which by the public Act of the Church of England, and by the general and earnest expositions of the writers of our Church, have been delivered. And we reject the sense of the Jesuits and Arminians, and all others wherein they differ from us."—(Rushworth, pp. 649, 650.) It seems, therefore, that the date of the Proclamation about Montague's book fixes also the date of the Declaration prefixed to the Articles, viz. about the middle of January, 1628-29, within a few days of the meeting of Parliament, to propitiate which the whole measure was designed. "Our thoughts being daily intentive upon the reassembling of our Parliament . . . we used our best endeavours to prepare and facilitate the way to it." . . . (Vindication of the Dissolution, &c.—Rushworth, vol. i. Appendix, p. 4.)]

SERMON VI.

PREACHED ON MONDAY, THE 17TH OF MARCH, 1628, AT WESTMINSTER, AT THE OPENING OF THE PARLIAMENT. [Ed. 1651.]

EPHESIANS iv. 3.

Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

THIS chapter is a great Scripture for "unity;" for here we find there is but "one Lord," whom we serve; but "one God and Father," whom we worship and obey; but "one Spirit," whom we receive, while He sanctifies us; "one Lord," "one God and Father," "one Spirit," three in one, all three but one God, blessed for ever; but "one baptism," by which we are cleansed; but "one faith," by which we believe; but "one hope," upon which we rely; but "one knowledge," by which we are enlightened; but "one body," of which we are members: different graces, but all tending to "one edification;" divers offices, but all joint overseers of the same "work;" till the building be "one," and "we one in it."

Ver. 5, 6. Ver. 4. Ver. 5. Ver. 4, 13. Ver. 4. Ver. 11, 12.

This chapter is as pressing a Scripture for exhortation. And the first exhortation is, "that men would walk worthy of their calling;" their calling to be Christians, their calling in Christianity: and that to shew themselves worthy, they would "endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the band of peace."

Ver. 1. Ver. 3.

All for "unity." And let me tell you, we often read of

SERMON VI.

"one" in the Scripture; but the word "unity," in the abstract, is nowhere read either in Old or New Testament, but only in this chapter, and here it is twice. For we
Ver. 3. are exhorted to "keep" it. But how long? Why, even "till
Ver. 13. we be made perfect," that is, to the end of this life.

Why, but what need was there of this exhortation at Ephesus? What? why, sure very great need. For Saint
[in loc.][a] Anselm tells us, *schisma fuit*, there was a schism and a rupture there. And *charismata*, the eminent graces which God had given many of them was made the cause of the schism. For corruption at the heart of man breeds pride even out of God's graces. And they which had these gifts despised them which had them not, and separated from them. This gave
Ver. 14. occasion to "false teachers to enter in," and "lie in wait to deceive." This was the state of the Church of Ephesus. How was it in the city and the commonwealth therewhile? How? why, the city was then a very famous city in Ionia, a part of Asia the Less; at this time subject to the Roman
Acts xix. 38. empire; their proconsul and other "deputies" were over them, but Diana was goddess there, and the city heathen.

Ephesus then was ethnic; no religion but paganism avowed by the State. And the city was a stranger to the Church that was in it; a stranger and "without," as the
1 Cor. v. 12. Apostle speaks. Yet such is the force of Christian religion,

[a] ["Ingreditur apostolus removere quoddam, quod contrarium est caritati, videlicet schisma, quod in eis tunc fuisse propter charismata non est dubitandum. Quoniam illi, qui habebant charismata, despiciebant alios, et abrumpebant se ab eis, sicque schisma erat inter eos."—[Pseudo] S. Anselm. Comment. in Ephes. tom. i. p. 278. Ed. Col. Agrip. 1612.—Cave says that the Pseudo-Anselm is Anselm of Laudun, but that the Commentaries on St. Matthew, printed under the name of Anselm, are by William of Paris, and those on the Epistles by Hervæus, a monk of Dol. Fabricius is more full, (Biblioth. Lat. med. et infim. ætat. tom. i. p. 114, &c. tom. iii. pp. 242, 243, &c.)—"Anselmus scholasticus et canonicus Laudunensis in Gallia, qui an. 1117, diem obiit, auctor Glossæ interlinearis et marginalis in totum Vetus et Novum Testamentum, laudatæ Henrico Gandavensi, (c. 30, de S. E.) editæque cum Glossa Ordinaria Hugonis a S. Caro Cardinalis, Basil. 1502, fol. ac sæpius deinde alibi, ut infra in Hugone et Nicolao Lirano dixi. 'Enarrationes in Matthæum,' editæ in limine operum Anselmi Cantuariensis, Coloniæ, 1573, 1612, fol. neque hujus, neque Laudunensis, sed Petri Babionis, Angli, (qui vixit an. 1360,) esse jam supra in Anselmo Cantuariensi notare me memini . . . . In Pauli Epistolas, Hervæum Monachum Dolensem Benedictinum habere auctorem noscuntur . . . . Hervæus Cenomanensis, Monachus Burgidolensis sive Dolensis, Ordinis Benedictini in diœcesi Bituricensi, circa an. 1130, de cujus vita et scriptis Epistolam Monachorum Burgidolensium edidere Dacherius, tom. ii. Spicileg. p. 514 (Editionis novæ, tom. iii. p. 461), Oudinus, tom. ii. p. 1114, et Bernhardus Pez, Præfat. ad tom. iii. Anecdotorum, p. 4."—Cf. the Preface to the Oxford translation of the Catena Aurea.]

that as Herod and Jerusalem "were troubled," when "Christ was born," so here Demetrius and Ephesus were troubled when the name and religion of Christ was born, and nursed up among them: for "the word of God" did no sooner "grow and prevail" at Ephesus, but by and by "there arose no small trouble about it."

Matt. ii. 3.

Acts xix. 20.

The city and the state heathen, yet troubled when religion came in: therefore a city and a state Christian must needs be more troubled when religion goes out. And the ready way to out religion is to break the "unity" of it. And the breach of the "unity" of religion will be sure to trouble the city first, and hazard the state after. For the State, whether pagan or Christian, hath ever smarted more or less as the Church hath crumbled into divisions.

Saint Paul, I know, wrote this Epistle to the Church of Ephesus, not the city. And he called for "unity bound up in peace" for the Church's good, without any express mention either of city or State. Yet he well knew that the good both of the State and the city would follow upon it. For "unity" is a binder up; and "unity of Spirit," which is religion's unity, is the fastest binder that is. And lest it should not bind fast enough, it calls in the "band of peace." So that no man can exhort unto, and endeavour for, the "unity of the Church," but at the same time he labours for the good of the State. And if it were so at Ephesus, where the State was heathen, much more must it needs be so where the State is Christian.

I shall follow my text therefore both in itself and in the consequent which follows upon it. In itself, and so it is for the "unity" of the Church; and a main text it is, saith Saint Jerome, against heresy and schism. In the consequence it hath, and so it is for the "unity" of the State. And a full consequence it is; for "unity" not kept in the Church is less kept in the State. And the schisms and divisions of the one, are both mothers and nurses of all disobedience and disjointing in the other. So the Apostle's

[in loc.][b]

[b] ["Hic locus vel maxime adversum Hæreticos facit, qui, pacis vinculo dissipato atque corrupto, putant se tenere Spiritus unitatem: quum unitas Spiritus in pacis vinculo conservetur."—S. Hieronym. Comment. lib. ii. in Epist. ad Ephes. c. iv. tom. iv. pars], p. 360. Ed. Benedict.]

SERMON VI.

exhortation goes on directly to the Church, by consequent to the State. And it will behove both bodies that all the several members of each "endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the band of peace."

The text hath six particulars. For, first, here is the thing itself, to which the Apostle exhorts,—that is, "unity." Secondly, all unity will not serve the turn—it must be the "unity of the Spirit." Thirdly, what is to be done with this unity?—it must be kept. Fourthly, there will be no keeping of it without a strong "endeavour." Fifthly, this "endeavour" to keep will be to no purpose if it be not "in peace." And sixthly, peace itself cannot hold it long, except it be "bound up," *in vinculo*, in the strongest "band" that "peace" hath.

I begin with that which is the matter of the Apostle's exhortation, it is "unity;"—a very charitable tie, but better known than loved. A thing so good, that it is never broken but by the worst men. Nay, so good it is, that the very worst men pretend best when they break it. It is so in the Church: never heretic yet rent her bowels, but he pretended that he raked them for truth. It is so in the State; seldom any unquiet spirit divides her union, but he pretends some great abuses, which his integrity would remedy. "O that I were made a judge in the land, that every man which hath any controversy might come to me, that I might do him justice." And yet no worse than David was King, when this cunning was used. "Unity," then, both in Church and commonwealth, is so good, that none but the worst willingly break it: and even they are so far ashamed of the breach, that they must seem holier than the rest, that they may be thought to have a just cause to break it.

2 Sam. xv. 4.

Now to be "one" here, whether in Church or commonwealth, is not properly taken, as if all were to be shrunk up into "one body." But "one" is taken here, saith Paulinus,

Epist. v.[c]

[c] ["*Duo fuimus in agro*, (Matt. xxiv. 40,) sed quando cum illis fratribus combinabamur [convivebamus] quorum a nobis per hoc propositum facta divisio est, *unus assumptus est:* quia unum [unus] non de singulari corpore, sed de multorum quoque unanimitate dici, satis eadem Scriptura declarat, cum has personas non in duobus hominibus, sed populis, fide Gentium, et remansione Judæorum id ostendente proponit. Nam et *illæ molentes duæ, de quibus* similiter *una* assumitur, ut arbitror, Synagogæ et Ecclesiæ formam gerunt."—S. Paulini, Epist. v. ad Severum, tom. vi. p. 180. Max. Biblioth. Patrum; et tom. v. pars 1, p. 158 D. Magna Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Ed. de la Bigne, Col. 1618.]

pro multorum unanimitate, for the unanimity and consent of many in one. And the Church and commonwealth, take them severally, or together, they are, they can be, no otherwise, "one" than *unione multorum,* by the uniting and agreeing of many in one. And so Saint Luke: "the Church was a multitude of believers," *sed cor unum,* but they lived as if they had had but one heart among them. This "unity," then, is so "one," as that it is the uniting of more than one: yet such a uniting of many, as that when the common faith is endangered, the Church appears for it as "one;" and when the common safety is doubted, or the common peace troubled, the State appears for it as "one;" as Israel was said to be "knit together as one man." And indeed when "one man" is not more at "unity" in himself, for his own defence, than the Church and State are for public defence, then both are justly said to be at "unity."

Acts iv. 32.

Thom. ii. 2. Q. xvii. A. 3. c.[d]

Judg. xx. 11.

You see what "unity" is. Will you see what hurt follows where it is broken? First fraction makes uneven reckonings. And it is hard, very hard, for a man that breaks "unity" to give either God or man a good account of so doing. Hard to give account, but that is not all.

For, if "unity" be broken, if a division be made, the parts must be equal or unequal. If the parts be equal, neither of them hath more than half its strength: if they be unequal, one hath not so much. And that which hath more, usually hath more pride, and so less will to unite. And yet for all this pride, far weaker it is than when there was "unity," and altogether. Nay, in breach of "unity" there is not always safety for the greater against the less. For in that grievous breach in Israel when the eleven tribes came out against Benjamin "four hundred thousand strong," and their quarrel good, yet they fell twice before them.

Judg. xx. 17.

Nay, this is not all, not any almost of the hurt which follows in either Church or State, when discontents have

[d] ["Amor et spes in hoc differunt, quod amor importat quandam unionem amantis ad amatum: spes autem importat quendam motum, sive protensionem appetitus in aliquod bonum arduum: unio autem est aliquorum distinctorum, et ideo amor directe potest respicere alium: quem sibi aliquis unit per amorem, habens eum, sicut seipsum."—S. Thom. Aquin. Secunda Secundæ, Quæst. xvii. Art. 3, tom. v. p. 173, Ed. Cajetan.]

SERMON VI.

swallowed up their "unity." For the Church; nothing, saith Saint Chrysostom, doth so provoke God to anger, as to see *divisam Ecclesiam*, His Church purchased by one blood, to be one body, made more, made other, than one. And for the commonwealth; a people is as one city, yet such a one, saith Saint Augustine,[f] *cui est periculosa dissensio*, as to whom all breach of "unity" is full of danger. For Church and State together; it was a grievous rent among the Jews, when "Manasses devoured Ephraim, Ephraim Manasses, and both fell upon Judah." What followed? Was God pleased with this, or were the tribes in safety that were thus divided? No, sure. For it follows: "the wrath of the Lord was not turned away, but His hand was stretched out still."

[in loc.][e]

Lib. de Ord. c. 18.[f]

Isa. ix. 21.

"Still?" How long was that? How long? Why, till Ephraim and Manasses, which could not agree at home, were with the rest of the ten tribes carried away into perpetual captivity. And Isaiah lived to see his prophecy fulfilled upon them. For they were carried away by Salmanasar in the sixth year of Hezekiah, when Isaiah flourished. This wrath of the Lord was fierce, and the people drank deep of this cup. Therefore I go afar off both for time and place to fetch this instance; and do you take care not to bring it nearer home. And I pray observe it too: the hand of God was stretched out upon Ephraim and Manasses, but there is no mention which was the first, or which the greater offender, Ephraim or Manasses. What is the reason? It is because the breach of "unity" scarce leaves any innocent; and "the hand of God" is stretched out upon all.

I press "unity" hard upon you:—pardon me this zeal. O that my thoughts could speak that to you that they do to God; or that my tongue could express them but such as they are; or that there were an open passage that you might see them, as they pray faster than I can speak for "unity."

[e] [οὐδὲν οὕτω παροξύνει τὸν Θεὸν, ὡς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διαιρεθῆναι.—S. Chrysostom. Hom. xi. in Epist. ad Ephes. c. iv. tom. xi. p. 86. Ed. Benedict.]

[f] ["Populus una civitas est, cui est periculosa dissensio: quid est autem dissentire, nisi non unum sentire?"—S. Augustin. de Ordine, lib. i. (c. 18,) 48, tom. i. p. 350. Ed. Benedict.]

But what then? Will any kind of "unity" serve the turn? Surely, any will do much good: but the best is safest; and that is "the unity of the Spirit."

The learned are not altogether agreed here what is meant by "the unity of the Spirit." For some think no more is meant by it, than a bare concord and agreement in mind and will. Let us keep this, and both Church and State shall have a great deal of freedom from danger. But others take "the unity of the Spirit" to be that spiritual concord, which none doth, none can, work in the hearts of men, but

Calv[in.][g] Bucer.[h] [Corn. a] Lapide.[i] [in loc.] Lyra.[k] Hu[go] Card[inalis.][l] Amb[rosius] Cath[arinus.][m]

[g] ["*Unitatem spiritus* quidam pro spirituali accipiunt, quam in nobis efficit Dei Spiritus: et certe is est solus qui nos reddit unanimes, adeoque facit unum. Sed ego simplicius interpretor de animorum concordia. Colligari unitatem docet *pacis vinculo*, propterea quod ex contentionibus nascuntur fere odia et simultates."—Calvin. in Epist. ad Ephes. c. iv. p. 337.]

[h] ["Hoc ergo loco petit, ut quæ probantur aut reprobantur, ex verbo Dei illa probemus, aut reprobemus, eodem modo, eodem impetu, studio, sententia, et judicio: ut abhorreamus a malis verbo illo Dei demonstratis: idem spirent, idem referant, omnes et singulæ animi nostri appetitiones."—Bucer. Prælectiones in Epist. D. Pauli ad Ephes. c. iv. habitæ Cantabrigiæ, p. 103. Ed. Basileæ, 1562.]

[i] ["*Unitatem spiritus*, id est, unitatem mentis et animi, ut scilicet corporibus licet divisi et disparati, mente tamen et animis conjuncti, uniti et quasi unum sitis. Hæc enim unio homines etiam debilissimos conservat, sicut schisma fortissimos dissolvit: nam concordia res parvæ crescunt, discordia maximæ dilabuntur. Vide quam unitati et concordiæ studendum sit, quamque cavendum sit schisma."—Cornelius a Lapide, Comment. in Epist. S. Pauli, p. 502. Ed. Antwerp. 1627.]

[k] ["*Unitatem spiritus*, id est, unitatem ecclesiæ, quam facit Spiritus Sanctus."—Nicolas de Lyra, Postil. apud Biblioth. Lat. cum Gloss. Ord. in loc.]

[l] ["*Unitatem spiritus*, ea quæ est in Spiritu Sancto."—Hugo de S. Caro, Cardinal. in Epist. ad Ephes. Opp. tom. vii. p. 174. Ed. Col. Agrip. 1621.—"Hugo de S. Caro, sive de S. Theoderio, suburbio Viennæ Allobrogum, Gallus, Theologus Parisiensis, Ord. Præd. Provincialis, et ab anno 1245 Cardinalis Presbyter, titulo Sabinæ, usque ad annum 1260, quo Lugduni diem obiit supremum. De eo Jacobus Quetif, tom. i. p. 194, Theophil. Raynaudus in mantissa ad indiculum Sanctorum Lugdunensium, tom. viii. Opp. p. 96, &c. Bulæus, tom. iii. Academ. Paris. p. 196. Labbeus, Caveus, &c. . . . Ejus sunt Postillæ sive breves commentarii in universa Biblia . . . vi. vol. in fol. Venetiis et Basil. 1487. Basil. 1498, 1504. Paris. 1508, 1538, 1548, et Venet. 1600, quinque volum. et Colon. 1621. Lugd. 1645, 1669, volum. octo."—Fabricii Biblioth. Lat. tom. iii. pp. 289-290. "Hugo iste ἁπλῶς nulloque addito cognominari solitus Cardinalis, edidit inter cætera *Postillas*, hoc est, Commentariolas."—Labbeus, Dissert. Histor. in Bellarm. de Scriptor. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 432.—Hugo Cardinalis is not to be confounded with Hugo Victorinus, or de S. Victore, (Bellarmine and Labbe, tom. vii. pp. 378, 379, &c.) who wrote tom. i. Annotationes Litterales et Quæstiones in Epist. Pauli, Venet. 1588, also Colon. 1617.]

[m] ["*Solliciti servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis.* Pax hoc in loco est voluntatum unio, qua velut vinculo quodam arctissime colligamur, ut servetur unio spiritus, quo ipsæ nostræ alioqui effrænes voluntates fortius cum Deo conjungantur. Nam et si qui jam sint unanimes, eosdem tamen unit strictius charitas, quæ est Spiritûs. Si enim dissentiones intercedant et hæreses, ut aliud sapiat unus, aliud alter: ab eis abhorret Spiritus, tantum abest ut hos conjungat."—Commentaria R.P.F. Ambrosii Catharini, Senensis Episcopi, Minoriensis, in omnes D. Pauli, et alias vii. Canonicas Epist. p. 329. Ed. Venet. 1551.]

SERMON VI.

the Holy Ghost. And I am apter to follow this sense: because if you take it for a bare agreement in judgment, Saint Paul had said enough by naming "unity," he needed have made no addition "of the Spirit:" and because in the text it is τοῦ πνεύματος, which, for the most, points out the Holy Spirit: and because else Saint Paul's words, which Bucer calls *ardentia verba*, zealous and burning words, add nothing to any even the coldest exhortation of the heathen to "unity."

Beza.[n] [Corn. a] Lapide.[o] [in loc.]

[in loc.][p]

The "unity," then, "of the Spirit," to which the apostle exhorts, includes both; both concord in mind and affections, and love of charitable unity, which comes from the Spirit of God, and returns to it. And, indeed, the grace of God's Spirit is that alone which makes men truly at peace and unity one with another. *Ei tribuendum non nobis;* to Him it is to be attributed, not to us, saith Saint Augustine. It is "He that makes men to be of one mind in an house." Now one mind in the Church, and one mind in the State, come from the same fountain with "one mind in an house;" all from "the Spirit." And so the Apostle clearly, "one body, and one Spirit," that is, "one body," by "one Spirit." For it is "the Spirit" that joins all the members of the Church into "one body." And it is the Church that blesses the State, not simply with "unity," but with that unity with which itself is blessed of God. A State not Christian may have "unity" in it. Yes; and so may a State that hath lost all Christianity, save the name. But "unity of the Spirit" nor Church nor State can longer hold, than they do in some measure obey the "Spirit," and love the "unity."

Tract. cx. in Joh.[q] Ps. lxviii. 6.

Ver. 4.

[n] ["Spiritum accipio pro spirituali: sive cujus vinculum est Spiritus Sanctus. Ita enim distinguit amicitiam illam, cujus præcepta tradiderunt philosophi, a Christiana conjunctione." — Theod. Beza, Annot. in Epist. ad Ephes. in loc. p. 252. Ed. Steph. 1556.]

[o] ["*Unitatem spiritus*, id est, charitatem mutuam, cujus auctor est Spiritus Sanctus, inquit Chrysostomus." — Corn. a Lapide, ut sup. p. 161.]

[p] ["Argumentum patheticum et vehemens."—Bucer. ut sup. p. 161.]

[q] ["*Rogo ut omnes unum sint, sicut Tu Pater in Me, et Ego in Te: rogo ut et ipsi in Nobis unum sint: rogo ut mundus credat quia Tu Me misisti.* Ideo quippe addidit, quod dixit, *in Nobis*, ut quod unum efficimur fidelissima caritate, gratiæ Dei noverimus tribuendum esse, non nobis: sicut Apostolus (Eph. v. 8) cum dixisset, *Fuistis enim aliquando tenebræ, nunc autem lux*, inquit, et ne sibi hoc tribuerent, adjecit, *in Domino*."—S. Augustin. in Johan. Evang. c. 17, Tractat. cx. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 776. Ed. Benedict.]

This "unity of the Spirit" is closer than any corporal union can be; for spirits meet where bodies cannot, and nearer than bodies can. The reason is given by Saint Chrysostom: because the soul or spirit of man is more simple, and of one form. And the soul apter in itself to union is made more apt by the Spirit of God which is "one," and loves nothing but as it tends to one. Nay, as the Spirit of God is one, and cannot dissent from itself, no more ought they whom the Spirit hath joined in one; and the Spirit hath joined the Church in one; therefore he that divides the unity of the Church, practises against the "unity of the Spirit."

Hom. ix. in Eph.[r]

Now this "unity of the Spirit," so called because it proceeds from the Spirit of grace, continues in obedience to it, and in the end brings us to the Spirit that gave it, is the cause of all other "unity" that is good; and the want of it, the cause of all defects in "unity." The presence of it is the cause of all "unity" that is good; of all within the Church, no man doubts. But it is of all without the Church too. For no heathen men or states did ever agree in any good thing whatsoever, but their "unity" proceeded from this "Spirit," and was so far forth at least "a unity of the Spirit." And for States that are Christian, and have mutual relations to the Church that is in them, Saint Gregory's rule is true: the unity of the State depends much upon the peace and unity of the Church; therefore upon the guidance of the same "Spirit."

Lib. iv. Ep. lxxvi.[s]

And as the presence of "the unity of the Spirit" is the cause of all "unity" that is good; so the want of it is the cause of all defects in "unity." For as in the body of a

[r] [ἡ γὰρ τῆς ψυχῆς συνάφεια ἀκριβεστέρα ἐστὶν, ὅσῳ καὶ ἁπλῆ καὶ μονοειδής ἐστι. — S. Chrysostom. Hom. ix. in Epist. ad Hebr. iii. tom. xi. p. 71 F. Ed. Benedict.]

[s] ["Piissimus atque a Deo constitutus Dominus noster, inter cæteras augustorum ponderum curas, conservandæ quoque sacerdotali caritati rectitudine studii spiritalis invigilat: videlicet pie veraciterque considerans, neminem posse recte terrena regere, nisi noverit divina tractare, pacemque Reipublicæ ex universalis Ecclesiæ pace pendere."—S. Greg. M. ad Mauricium Augustum, Epist. xx. lib. v. tom. ii. p. 747. Ed. Benedict. The whole letter treats the same argument, and was connected with S. Gregory's appeal against the assumption of the title of Œcumenical Patriarch by John of Constantinople.—"Scito autem, excellentissime fili, si victorias quæritis, si de commissæ vobis provinciæ securitate tractatis, nihil vobis magis aliud ad hoc proficere, quam zelari sacerdotum vitas, et intestina Ecclesiarum, quantum possibile est, bella compescere."—Idem, ad Gennadium Patricium et Exarchum Africæ, Epist. vii. lib. iv. tom. ii. p. 684. Ed. Benedict.]

Sermon VI.

man the spirit holds the members together, but if the soul depart, the members fall asunder; so it is in the Church, [in loc.][t] saith Theophylact, and so in the State. So little "unity," then, in Christendom as is, is a great argument that "the Spirit is grieved," and hath justly withdrawn much of His influence. And how is the Spirit grieved? How? why, sure by our neglect, if not contempt, of Him as He is "one." Isa. xi. 2. For as He is the "Spirit of fortitude," there we will have Him,—He shall defend us in war. And as He is "the Spirit of wisdom," there we will have Him too,—He shall govern us in peace. But as He is "one Spirit," and requires that we keep His "unity," there we will none of Him; though we know right well, that without "unity" peace cannot continue, nor war prosper.

One unity there is—take heed of it—it is a great enemy to the "unity of the Spirit," both in Church and commonwealth. Saint Basil calls it *concors odium*, unity in hatred to persecute the Church. And to this work there is "unity" enough; "men take counsel together." Saint Augustine calls it *unitatem contra unitatem*, a unity against unity; when pagans, Jews, and heretics, or any profane crew whatsoever, make a league against the Church's "unity." And about that work, "that the name of Israel may be no more in remembrance," that there may be no Church, or no reformed Church, "Gebal, and Ammon, and Amalek, the Philistines, and they that dwell at Tyre, are confederates together." Saint Hilary will not vouchsafe to call such

Epist. lxiii.[u] Ps. ii. 2. Ser. vi. de verb. Dom. c. 12.[x] Ps. lxxxiii. [Ibid. 7.] In Ps. cxl.[y]

[t] [ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ σώματι πνεῦμα ἐστι τὶ πάντα συνέχον καὶ ἑνοποιοῦν, κἂν διάφορα ὦσι μέλη· οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς πιστοῖς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμά ἐστιν ὕπερ ἑνοποιεῖ πάντας, κἂν διάφορα ἔχωμεν καὶ γένη καὶ τρόπους καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα· καὶ διὰ τούτου τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἓν σῶμα γινόμεθα. — Theophylact. Comment. in Epist. ad Ephes. c. iv. tom. ii. p. 393, Ed. Venet. 1755; and p. 532, Ed. Lindsell. Londin. 1636.—This last edition is important, as it was the first publication in the original of Theodoret's Commentaries on the Epistles from the Arundel MS. (apud Mus. Brit. No. 534 in Catal.) by Lindsell, Bp. of Hereford, under Laud's own patronage: the expense was defrayed by funds raised by Laud, from a fine, laid on the king's printers, for leaving out the word "not," in the seventh commandment. (Heylyn, p. 228.)]

[u] [ἡ μὲν συμφωνία τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν μίσους, καὶ τὶ μέχρις ἑνὸς πάντας ἀκολουθῆσαι τῷ προεστῶτι τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν πολέμου.—S. Basil. Epist. ccvii. (al. lxiii.) ad Neocæs. Cler. tom. iii. p. 309. Ed. Benedict.]

[x] ["Sciatis autem, Carissimi, murmura illorum conjungere se cum hæreticis, cum Judæis. Hæretici, Judæi et Pagani unitatem fecerunt contra unitatem." — S. Augustin. Sermo xlii. de verbis Evangelii Matt. viii. (c. 12) 18, (olim Serm. vi. de Verbis Domini,) tom. v. p. 364. Ed. Benedict.]

[y] ["Sed quia unum Ecclesiæ corpus est, non quadam corporum confusione permixtum, neque singulis in indiscretum acervum et informem cumu-

union "unity;" indeed it deserves not the name, it is not unity, saith he, be it in Church, or be it in State; but it is a combination. And he gives this reason: for unity is in faith and obedience; but combination is *consortium factionis*, no other, no better, the consenting in a faction. And all faction is a fraction too, and an enemy to "unity," even while it combines in one. For while it combines but a part, it destroys the unity of the whole.

Is "the Spirit in this?" Out of question, No. For a faction to compass its end, I will not say, "when it sees a thief it consents to him;" or that it is always "partaker with the adulterers;" but this it doth, "it speaks against its own brother, and slanders its own mother's son." Can any man call this "the unity of the Spirit?" or is this the way to "unity?"

Ps. l. 19.

And now I cannot but wonder what words Saint Paul, were he now alive, would use, to call back "unity" into dismembered Christendom. For my part, death were easier to me, than it is to see and consider the face of the Church of Christ scratched and torn, till it bleeds in every part, as it doth this day; and the "coat of Christ," which was once spared by "soldiers, because it was seamless," rent every way, and which is the misery of it, by the hand of the priest: and the Pope, which Bellarmine hath put into the definition of the Church, that there might be

John xix. 23.

Bellar. [Lib.] iii. de Eccles. Mil. c. 2, §. "Nostra autem."[z]

lum adunatis, sed per fidei unitatem, per caritatis societatem, per operum voluntatisque concordiam, per sacramenti unum in omnibus donum, unum omnes sumus, in quod nos hortatur Paulus dicens, *obsecro vos*, &c. (1 Cor. i. 10) . . . tunc erimus civitas Dei, tunc sancta Jerusalem: quia *Jerusalem ædificatur*, &c. Dissidentes autem a cœtu sanctorum, et se ab Ecclesiæ corpore peccatis præcipitantibus separantes, participationem sanctæ istius domus non habent. Ex consortio enim perfectæ civitatis unanimes non possunt participationem in diverso habere."—S. Hilar. Tractat. in Ps. cxxi. p. 386.

"*Et non combinabo cum electis eorum.* (Ps. cxl. 4.) Non ergo combinamur, sed unimur: quia unitas fidei est, at vero combinatio consortium factionis."—S. Hilar. Tractat. in Ps. cxl. p. 537.]

[z] ["Nostra autem sententia est, Ecclesiam unam tantum esse, non duas, et illam unam et veram esse cœtum hominum ejusdem Christianæ fidei professione, et eorundem Sacramentorum communione colligatum, sub regimine legitimorum pastorum, ac præcipue unius Christi in terris Vicarii, Romani Pontificis. Ex qua definitione facile colligi potest, qui homines ad Ecclesiam pertineant, qui vero ad eam non pertineant. Tres enim sunt partes hujus definitionis. Professio veræ fidei, Sacramentorum communio, et subjectio ad legitimum pastorem Romanum Pontificem. Ratione primæ partis excluduntur omnes infideles, tam qui nunquam fuerunt in Ecclesia, ut Judæi, Turcæ, Pagani, tam qui fuerunt et recesserunt, ut hæretici et apostatæ. Ratione secundæ, excluduntur Catechu-

SERMON VI.

one ministerial head to keep all in unity, is as great as any, if not the greatest, cause of divided Christianity. Good God! what preposterous thrift is this in men, to sow up every small rent in their own coat, and not care what rents they not only suffer, but make, in the "coat of Christ?" What is it? Is Christ only thought fit to wear a torn garment? Or can we think that the "Spirit of unity," which is one with Christ, will not depart to seek warmer clothing? Or if He be not gone already, why is there not "unity," which is wherever He is? Or if He be but yet gone from other parts of Christendom, in any case, for the passion and in the bowels of Jesus Christ I beg it, make stay of Him here in our parts.

For so the Apostle goes on; "keep the unity of the Spirit." This exhortation requires two things, saith Saint [in loc.][a] Jerome; the one, that they which have this "unity of the Spirit keep" it; the other, that they which have it not, labour to "get" it. And, certainly, nothing can be more beneficial, or more honourable either for Church or State, than to get it when they have it not, or to keep it when they have it. And this is implied in the very word, which the Apostle uses, "keep." For no wise man will advise the treasuring up and "keeping" of anything, but that which is of use and benefit. And the word τηρεῖν doth not barely signify to "keep," but *tueri*, to defend too, which is the stoutest keeping. Now all wise men are for "unity;" and all good men for the "unity of the Spirit." Yes, saith In Gen. vii.[b] Saint Isidore, *boni servant*, good men keep it.

Wise and good men "keep" it; why, then, none but fools, and bad men, break it. Sly and cunning men, perhaps,

meni et excommunicati, quoniam illi non sunt admissi, ad Sacramentorum communionem, isti sunt dimissi. Ratione tertiæ, excluduntur schismatici, qui habent fidem et Sacramenta, sed non subduntur legitimo pastori, et ideo foris profitentur fidem, et Sacramenta percipiunt. Includuntur autem omnes alii, etiamsi reprobi, scelesti et impii sunt."—Bellarmin. de Eccles. Militant. lib. iii. c. 2. Opp. tom. ii. p. 53. Ed. Venet. 1721.]

[a] ["Ephesiis qui jam unitatem Spiritus Sancti fuerant consecuti, recte dicitur: *Solliciti servare unitatem Spiritus in vinculo pacis.* Qui enim quid habet, servandi illi sollicitudo præcipitur. Qui autem non habet, studium illi ut habere valeat, imperatur."—S. Hieronym. Comment. lib. ii. in Epist. ad Ephes. c. iv. tom. iv. pars i. p. 360. Ed. Benedict.]

[b] ["Sic in Ecclesia et sacramentis boni et mali versantur. Quod septena sunt munda, et bina immunda: non quia pauciores sunt mali, quam boni: sed quia boni servant unitatem Spiritus in vinculo pacis. Sanctum autem Spiritum divina Scriptura in septiformi operatione commendat."—S. Isidor. Hispal. in Gen. c. vii. sect. 12, tom. v. p. 288. Ed. Lorenzanæ.]

may have their hands in divisions, but wise or good men they are not. "For are they not all without understanding that work wickedness?" And a greater wickedness men can hardly work, than to dissolve the "unity of the Spirit" in either Church or commonwealth. For they do as much as in them lies to bring profaneness into the Church, and desolation upon the State. "Keep," therefore, "the unity of the Spirit."

Ps. liii. 5.

"Keep unity." Why, but what needs that? will not "unity keep" itself? It is true, "unity" is very apt to hang together. It proceeds from charity, which is the glue of the Spirit, not severed without violence. Yea, but for all this, it needs "keeping." In the Church it needs "keeping;" and therefore the prophets and governors of the Church are called *custodes*, "keepers," "watchmen," and "overseers." And they must watch as well over her peace, as her truth. And yet there are so many that scatter the tares of schism and heresy, that her "unity" is not "kept."

Ezek. iii. 17. Acts xx. 28.

In the commonwealth it needs keeping too. For her governors are *custodes civitatis*, keepers of the city. But there, also, there are not few that trouble the waters for their own fishing. And many times a commonwealth is in danger to lose her "unity," just as Ephesus did. At which time "all the city was troubled," but the greater part knew not why. And the true cause of the division was no more but this; Demetrius and his fellows were afraid they should lose their gain, if Diana and her temple kept not up their greatness.

Acts xix. 32.

Now this noise at Ephesus doth not only tell us that "unity" needs "keeping," but it informs us farther of the way to "keep" it. The way to "keep unity," both in Church and State, is for the governors to carry a watchful eye over all such as are discovered, or feared, to have private ends. For there is no private end, but in something or other it will be led to run cross the public: and if gain come in, though it be by "making shrines for Diana," it is no matter with them though Ephesus be in an uproar for it.

And certainly there is no "keeping" of "unity" in either Church or State, unless men will be so temperate, when it comes to a jump at least, as to lay down the private for the public's sake, and persuade others to do the like: else, saith

SERMON VI.

Hom. ix. in Ephes.[c] Tho. ii. 2. Q. 183. A. 2 ad tertium.[d]

Saint Chrysostome, *quicquid ducit ad amorem sui, dividit unitatem*, whatsoever leads men to any love of themselves and their own ends, helps to divide the unity. And the School applies it both to Church and State. For in the Church they which seek their own, and not that which is Christ's, who is *publicum Ecclesiæ*, the public interest of the Church, depart from the "unity of the Spirit." And in an earthly city, the "unity" of that is gone, when the citizens study their own, not the public good.

Why, but when then is "unity" to be "kept?" When? why, surely at all times, if it be possible. But especially it is to be "kept," when enemies are banded together against Church or State. Then above all other times look well to the "keeping of unity." Am I deceived? or is not this

[c] [εἰς γὰρ φιλαυτίαν ἄγει τοῦτο, (sc. τὴν ἀγάπην ψυγῆναι,) καὶ δίαιρει καὶ σχίζει τὸ σῶμα, καὶ χαυνοῖ καὶ διασπᾷ. —S. Chrysostom. Hom. ix. sect. 3, in Epist. ad Ephes. c. iv. tom. xi. p. 73. Ed. Benedict.

οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐκκλησίαν δυνήσεται διαιρεῖν, ὡς φιλαρχία.—S. Chrysostom. Hom. xi. sect. 4, in Epist. ad Ephes. c. iv. tom. xi. p. 86. Ed. Benedict.]

[d ["*Utrum in Ecclesia debeat esse diversitas officiorum sive statuum.* AD SECUNDUM sic proceditur. Videtur quod in Ecclesia non debeat esse diversitas officiorum, vel statuum. Diversitas enim unitati repugnat: sed fideles Christi ad unitatem vocantur, secundum illud Johan. 17, *Ut sint unum*, &c. ergo, &c. . . . ¶ RESPONDEO dicendum, quod *diversitas statuum et officiorum in Ecclesia ad tria pertinet.* 1. *Primo* quidem ad perfectionem ipsius Ecclesiæ. Sicut enim in rerum naturalium ordine perfectio, quæ in Deo simpliciter et uniformiter invenitur, in universitate creaturarum inveniri non potest, nisi difformiter et multipliciter: ita enim plenitudo gratiæ quæ in Christo, sicut in capite, adunatur, ad membra ejus diversimode redundat, ad hoc quod corpus Ecclesiæ sit perfectum. Et hoc est, quod Apost. dicit ad Ephes. iv. *Ipse dedit quosdam quidem Apostolos*, &c. 2. *Secundo* autem pertinet ad necessitatem actionum, quæ sunt in Ecclesia necessariæ . . 3. *Tertio* hoc pertinet ad dignitatem et pulchritudinem Ecclesiæ, quæ in quodam ordine consistit . . . ¶ AD PRIMUM ergo dicendum, quod diversitas statuum, et officiorum non impedit Ecclesiæ unitatem, quæ perficitur per unitatem fidei, et charitatis, et mutuæ subministrationis, secundum illud Apostoli ad Ephes. iv. *Ex quo totum corpus est compactum*, scilicet per fidem, *et connexum* . . . . ¶ AD SECUNDUM dicendum, quod sicut natura non facit per multa, quod potest facere per unum . . . . ¶ AD TERTIUM dicendum, quod sicut in naturali corpore membra diversa continentur in unitate per virtutem spiritus vivificantis, quo abscedente membra corporis separantur: ita etiam in corpore Ecclesiæ conservatur pax diversorum membrorum virtute Spiritus Sancti, qui corpus Ecclesiæ vivificat, ut habetur Johan. vi. &c. Unde Apostolus dicit ad Ephes. iv. *Solliciti servare unitatem Spiritus in vinculo pacis.* Discedit autem aliquis ab hac unitate Spiritus, dum quærit, quæ sibi sunt propria: sicut etiam in terrena civitate pax tollitur ex hoc quod cives singuli, quæ sua sunt, quærunt. Alioquin per officiorum et statuum distinctionem tam mentis, quam civitatis terrenæ magis pax conservatur, in quantum per hæc plures sunt, qui communicant actibus publicis. Unde et Apostolus dicit (1 ad Cor. xii.) quod *Deus temperavit nos, ut non sit schisma*, &c." — S. Thom. Aquin. Secunda Secundæ, Quæst. clxxxiii. Art. 2, tom. vi. p. 710. Ed. Cajetan.]

your case now? Are not many and great enemies joined against you? Are they not joined both against the Church and against the State? Are they joined, and are you divided? God forbid. It cannot be that you should so forget the Church of Christ, or the bowels of your own country, and your own. Join, then, and "keep the unity of the Spirit," and I will fear no danger though Mars were "lord of the ascendant," in the very instant of this "Session" of Parliament, and "in the second house," or joined, or in aspect, with the "lord of the second," which yet Ptolemy thought brought much hurt to commonwealths. Aphoris. lxxxiv.[e]

But suppose all danger over,—I would it were,—yet "keep unity" at all times. For enemies are as cunning as malice can make them: and if "unity" be not "kept" at all times, at that time when it is not "kept" they will make their breach. And they will make it certainly. For if the "unity of the Spirit" be gone, the "Spirit" is gone with it; and if the "Spirit" be gone, Christ is gone with Him: and if They be gone, God the Father is gone with Them. And what misery will not follow when an enemy shall come upon a State, and find the whole blessed Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, gone from it, to accompany that "unity" which is banished out of it?

Yea, but you will say; if "unity" be lost, we will quickly fetch it back again. Soft: first, it is more wisdom to "keep" it, than to be driven to fetch it back. Secondly, before "unity" be thrust off, it would be well thought upon whether it be in your power to bring it back when you will. The "Spirit," I am sure, is not, and it is "His unity." And, lose it when you will, it is like the loss of health in the natural body,—just like. For there every disease is with some breach of "unity;" either by inflammation in some noble or vital part; or by strife in the humours; or luxations in the joints;

[e] ["Quando in tempore sessionis ♂ est dominus ascendentis, et reperitur in secunda domo, aut conjungitur vel aspicit dominum secundæ, multa damna faciet." — Ptolemæi Aphorism. lxxxiv.

"Secunda domus acquirendæ acquisitæque pecuniæ est: Quare si ♂ dominus est ascendentis in hora sessionis præfecti aut incoronationis principis, et invenitur in secunda, aut conjungitur vel aspicit dominum secundæ, multa damna faciet."—Georg. Trapezuntii Comment. in Aphorism. Ptolemæi Centiloquium vel Aphorism. transl. a G. Trapezuntio, p. 52. Basileæ, 1550. Appended to Bonatus de Astronomia, ibid.]

SERMON VI.

or by breaking veins or sinews;[f] still with some breach of "unity." Well, what says the patient therewhile? What? why, he says he will recover his health, and then take care to keep it. Yea, but what if death seize upon him before health be recovered? What then? Had it not been better and safer a great deal to "keep" health while he had it? And is not death a just reward of his distempering his humours? I will not apply [this] to either Church or commonwealth: but certainly it is better for both to "keep the unity of the Spirit," than to trust to the recovery of it when it is lost.

"Keep" then "the unity of the Spirit;" but know withal, and it follows in the text, that if you will keep it, you must "endeavour" to keep it.

For it is not so easy a thing to "keep unity" in great bodies as it is thought; there goes much labour and "endeavour" to it. The word is, *σπουδάζοντες*, study; be careful to keep it. Saint Augustine reads it, *satagentes*, do enough to keep it: and he that doth enough, gives not over doing till it be kept.

In Ps. xcix.[g]

Nay, the Apostle comes so home, that he uses two words, and both of singular care for "unity:" for he doth not simply say, "keep" it, nor simply "endeavour" it, but "study" and "endeavour" to "keep" it. Now no man can "keep" that is not careful; and no man will "endeavour" that is not studious. Neither is it, saith Saint Chrysostom, every man's sufficiency to be able to keep unity: and the word implies such an "endeavour" as makes haste to keep: and indeed no time is to be lost at this work.

Hom. ix. in Eph.[h]

Why, but if there be need of such "endeavouring," whence comes it that that which clings so together, as all "unity" doth, is so hard to "keep?" Whence? why I will tell you: I presume you will "endeavour" the more to "keep" it.

[f] [See Introductory Note to this Sermon for an account of the circumstances under which this allusion, and a similar one, contained in a paragraph in the Sermon at p. 177, bore a particular reference to the preacher.]

[g] ["Intendat Caritas Vestra: Sustinentes invicem, ait Apostolus, in dilectione, satagentes servare unitatem Spiritus in vinculo pacis. Sustinentes invicem, &c."—S. Augustin. Enarr. in Ps. xcix. tom. iv. p. 1076. Ed. Benedict.]

[h] [*μετ' εὐκολίας σπουδάζοντες· δείκνυσιν οὐχ ἁπλῶς, οὐδὲ τοῦ τυχόντος τὸ πρᾶγμα εἶναι· σπουδάζοντές, φησι, τηρεῖν τὸν ἑνότητα τοῦ πνεύματος.*—S. Chrysostom. Hom. ix. sect. 2, in Epist. ad Ephes. c. iv. tom. xi. p. 71. Ed. Benedict.]

First, then, it is hard to be "kept," in regard of the nature of this "unity." For be it in Church, or be it in commonwealth, it is *unum aggregatum*, one by collection and conjunction of many; and the School teaches us that this "unity" is *minima unitas*, a unity that is least one, and therefore aptest to fall asunder. Both because many are not easily kept at one; and because every one of the many, by reason of the contrary thoughts and affections which divide him, is not long together one in himself: which is the reason, as I conceive, of that in Philo, "that a little difference is able to divide a city."

Tho. p. 1. Q. 31. A. 1, 2.[i]

Philo apud Tho. ii. 2. Q. 183. A. 2, 3.[k]

Secondly, it is hard to "keep," in regard of opposers against it, and sly practisers upon it. And they are many; David complained of them in his time: "My soul hath long dwelt with them that are enemies to peace." And there is no Church, nor no State, but hath some of these. And since the plotting and study of these is to break, you must "endeavour to keep the unity of the spirit." And you will find the work hard enough.

Ps. cxx. 5.

But, as to "keep unity" is a work of difficulty, and takes up much "endeavour" of the best: so it is a glorious work, and worth their "endeavour." It is a pitiful thing to see a man but reputed wise, and his "endeavour," vain:

[i] ["*Utrum sit Trinitas in divinis.* AD . . . SECUNDUM. Hoc nomen Trinitas videtur esse nomen collectivum cum significet multitudinem; tale autem nomen non convenit in divinis, cum unitas importata per nomen collectivum sit minima unitas. In divinis autem est maxima unitas: ergo, &c. ¶ AD SECUNDUM dicendum, quod nomen collectivum duo importat, scilicet, pluralitatem suppositorum, et unitatem quandam, scilicet, ordinis alicujus. Populus enim est multitudo hominum sub aliquo ordine comprehensorum. Quantum ergo ad primum, hoc nomen Trinitas convenit cum nominibus collectivis; sed quantum ad secundum differt: quia in divina Trinitate non solum est unitas ordinis, sed cum hoc est etiam unitas essentiæ."—S. Thom. Aquin. Summæ Theolog. pars i. Quæst. xxxi. Art. 1, tom. i. p. 367. Ed. Cajetan.]

[k] [This citation is a slight error. In the schoolmen the ordinary reference to Aristotle is under the name "Philosophus," or, as it is generally written, "Philo." Laud seems to have forgotten this, and to have thought that S. Thomas was quoting from Philo. S. Thomas refers to the seventh Book of the Politics: but the probable passage is Aristot. Polit. lib. v. c. 2, in fin. and c. 3.

μεταβάλλουσι δ' αἱ πολιτεῖαι καὶ ἄνευ στάσεως . . . . διὰ τὸ παρὰ μικρόν· λέγω δὲ παρὰ μικρὸν, ὅτι πολλάκις λανθάνει μεγάλη γινομένη μετάβασις τῶν νομίμων, ὅταν παρορῶσι τὸ μικρόν . . . . ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις αἱ διαβάσεις τῶν ὀχετῶν καὶ τῶν πάνυ μικρῶν διασπῶσι τὰς φάλαγγας, οὕτως ἔοικε πᾶσα διαφορὰ ποιεῖν διάστασιν . . . . γίνονται μὲν οὖν αἱ στάσεις οὐ περὶ μικρῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ μικρῶν. —c. ii. iii. . . . *εἴρηται ἐν τοῖς πρότερον καθόλου κατὰ πασῶν τῶν πολιτειῶν, ὅτι αἴτιον τῶν μεταβολῶν καὶ τὸ μικρόν ἐστι.*— Ibid. c. 6. Ed. Gœttling, Jenæ, 1833; and the reference made by Laud is to the Secunda Secundæ, Quæst. clxxxiii. Art. 2, tom. vi. p. 709. Ed. Cajetan.—Cf. Note to p. 168.]

SERMON VI.

but beside the comfort that is within, there is a great deal of honour to see a wise man's endeavour like himself. And nothing is more like wisdom than "unity." For wise counsels are seldom better known by anything than this: that as they are in themselves one, and vary not, so they tend to one, and distract not: that one end is verity in the Church, safety in the State, and "unity" in both. Notwithstanding this, good God! what spending there is of great "endeavours" about vanity, and things of nought? Half that "endeavour" spent in "keeping unity," would do what all our hearts desire, and more too.

Why, but then how shall we be able to set our "endeavour" right to the "keeping of this unity of the Spirit?" How? why, the Apostle tells you that too. And the way he proposes is so direct, that I dare say, if you "endeavour," you shall "keep the unity of the Spirit" both in Church and State.

Ver. 2.

First, then, all "endeavour" to "keep the unity of the Spirit" is void, if it be not virtuous. For the "Spirit" will neither be kept, nor keep men together in vice. Next, among all virtues four are most necessary to preserve "unity." The Apostle nameth them; and I will do no more. They are "humility" [lowliness] at the heart; "meekness" in the carriage; "patience" [long-suffering] in point of forbearance; and "charity" [forbearing one another in love], whose work is supportation of the weak, that scandal be not taken, and "unity" broken.

[Ver. 2.]

And concerning this last great virtue, whose work is supportation of the weak, it is an excellent passage which Saint Augustine hath. "Art thou so perfect that there is nothing in thee which another need support? I wonder if it be so: it is rare perfection. But be it so. Why then thou art the stronger to support others. Is unity like to be broken, and dost thou say thou canst not support others?" *Ergo habes quod in te alii sustineant,* "therefore thou art not yet so per-

In Ps. xcix.[1]

[1] ["*Sustinentes invicem:* Non habes quod in te alius sustineat? Miror si non est: sed ecce non sit; eo robustior es ad cæteros sustinendos, quo jam non habes quod in te alii sustineant. Non sustineris, sustine cæteros. Non possum, inquis. Ergo habes quod et in te alii sustineant. Sustinentes invicem in dilectione."—S. Augustin. Enarr. in Ps. xcix. tom. iv. p. 1076. Ed. Benedict.]

fect as thou thoughtest, but thou hast somewhat that others may support and bear in thee."

"Endeavour then to keep the unity of the Spirit;" that we must. But in what is "unity" best preserved? In what? Why, that follows next. It is "in peace," saith the Apostle.

Now "peace" in this place is not taken as it is opposite to war: but it is that "peace" which opposes all jarring and falling out, especially falling off one from another. It is not considered here as opposite to war; for that "peace" and war cannot possibly stand together. But this "peace" in which "unity is kept," is most useful, most necessary, when war is either threatened or begun. For as there is most need of "unity" against united enemies, so is there most need of peaceable dispositions to unite at home against forces from abroad. Therefore the learned agree here, that "peace" stands for a calm and quiet dispose of the hearts of men, and of their carriage too, that "the unity of the Spirit" may be preserved. And certainly without this peaceable disposition, it is in vain to say we endeavour for "unity;" either to get or to keep it.

The "peace" then here spoken of, differs not much from the virtue of meekness. Only it adds above meekness towards others, quietness with them. As it agrees with meekness, so it is the way to "unity:" as it adds above it, so it is the treasury in which "unity" is kept. It is an ancient rule for kingdoms and a good, *iisdem artibus quibus parta sunt facile retinentur*,—they are kept in subjection, order, and obedience, by the same virtues by which they were first gotten. Now "the unity of the spirit" is a great part of the kingdom of grace; therefore this kingdom too, if it be gotten, as it is, by "peace," then in "peace" it must be kept. For you shall never see "the unity of the Spirit" dwell in a froward heart, that is enemy to "peace."

Sallust. in Conjur. Catil.[m]

That affection of which Saint Bernard was, is the great

Epist. cclii.[n]

[m] ["Nam imperium facile iis artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est." — Sallust. Bell. Catilinar. in proœmio.]

[n] ["Ego autem, fratres, quicquid faciatis, decrevi semper diligere vos, etiam non dilectus. Occasiones quærat qui vult recedere ab amico, mihi studii est et erit, nec cuiquam amicorum justam in me discessionis causam dare, nec scrutari in alio; quod hoc quidem fictæ, illud vero neglectæ amicitiæ est. Et quia secundum Prophetam (Is. xli) *glutino bonum est*, solvere vel potius abrumpere vos poteritis, sed non me. Adhærebo vobis etsi nolitis: ad-

SERMON VI.

keeper of "unity." And sure he dwelt "in peace." *Adhærebo vobis etsi nolitis, etsi nolim ipse;* I will stick and be one with you, though you would not have me do it: nay, though any tentation in myself would not have me do it. And therefore they are quite out of the way, in the Church, saith Saint Jerome, that think they can hold "the unity of the Spirit," *dissipata pace,* when they have shaken peace asunder. And they are as far mistaken in the commonwealth, that steep all their humours in gall, and yet would entitle themselves patrons of "unity." And surely such, in what state soever they live, "know not of what Spirit they are," though all other men see it is "fire they call for."

[in loc.][o]

Luke ix. 55.

Why? But what need is there of this exhortation to "peace?" this endeavour for "unity?" what need in regard of the times, the time itself preaches, I may hold my peace. But what need there is, in regard of men's persons and conditions, which are to comply with the times, that I will tell you. The best "peace" that is, and the fairest calm that the soul of man hath, is imperfect in this life. What then? What? why, therefore says the School, "though the soul be at rest and peace with God," and consequently in itself, and with others, "yet there is still some repugnancy, both within and without, which disturbs this peace." For whatsoever is imperfect is under perturbation; and the more a man is troubled the less perfect is his "peace." Out of which it follows again, that all exhortation to recall a man's passions

Tho. ii. 2. Q. 29. A. 2. 4.[p]

hærebo etsi nolim ipse. Olim me alligavi forti vinculo, charitate non ficta, illa quæ nunquam excidit. Cum turbatis ero pacificus, conturbantibus quoque dabo locum iræ, ne diabolo dem. Vincar jurgiis, vincar obsequiis. Invitis præstabo, ingratis adjiciam, honorabo et contemnentes me."—S. Bernard. Epist. cclii. (ad Abbatem de Præmonstrato,) p. 240 C. Ed. Paris. 1551.]

[o] ["Hic locus vel maxime adversum Hæreticos facit, qui, pacis vinculo dissipato atque corrupto, putant se tenere Spiritus unitatem: quum unitas Spiritus in pacis vinculo conservetur."—S. Hieronym. ut sup. Not. ad p. 166.]

[p] ["¶ Not. Ex textu addisce, quid sit habere cor pacatum; et ex consequenti, quid sit cor pacatum. Habet is cor pacatum, de quo verificantur duo: *Primum* quidem, quod habeat id, quod vult, *secundum* autem, quod non restet ei aliquid volendum, quod simul habere non possit. Cor ergo pacatum perfecte est illud, de quo ista duo verificantur. Ex his patet: quod solum in patria cœlesti pleniter invenitur cor pacatum; et in viatoribus justis plus, vel minus, secundum quod appropinquant perfectioni comprehensorum. Quis enim comprehensor, cui ex parte appetibilis restet aliquid volendum, quod habere non possit; et quis viator, cui non restet aliquid volendum, quod nunc habere non possit?" — S. Thom. Aquin. Secund. Secundæ, Quæst. xxix. Art. 1, super Quæstionem. tom. v. p. 326. Ed. Cajetan.]

to peace is very needful for the keeping of "unity:" and he that is offended at Saint Paul's exhortation to peace, is not at peace in himself.

Will you say farther, that this "peace" which keeps, and this "unity of Spirit" which is kept, is the blessing and the gift of God? It shall ever be far from me to deny that. But what then? Because they are God's blessings, must not you "endeavour" to get them? And because they are God's gifts, must not you be careful to "keep" them? Nay, ought not you to be the more careful to "keep," when God Himself is so free to give? It is true, you cannot endeavour till God give grace; but it is true too, that you are bound to endeavour, when He hath given it. Bound certainly; and therefore Saint Jerome expounds this, which is but counsel and exhortation in Saint Paul, by a *præcipitur*: "there is God's command upon you, that you endeavour for 'unity in peace.'" [in loc.][q]

And now, what if God have given sufficiency, nay abundance, of grace, and yet there be no endeavour, can any be blamed then for want of "unity" but yourselves? It is true, that "except the Lord keep the city, your watchmen wake in vain." But is it any where said in Scripture, that if you will set no watch, take no care, that yet God will keep the city? No, sure. And this will ever be found certain, when and wheresoever "the unity of the Spirit" is not "kept," then and there was want of man's endeavour to "keep" it in "peace." And whensoever God lays that punishment which follows disunion upon a nation, the sin upon which the punishment falls is committed by man's misendeavouring, or want of endeavouring. Ps. cxxvii. 2.

But "peace" itself cannot hold "unity" long, if it be not a firm and a binding peace. And this brings in the end of the text, the "keeping of unity," *in vinculo pacis*, "in the band of peace."

First, then, if you will keep a settled "unity," you must have a firm peace. The reason is, because in this "unity" many are brought together; and many will not be held together without a band. Saint Augustine discovered this: *unitas* Lib. i. De Doct. Christiana, Prolo.[r]

[q] ["Qui enim quid habet, servandi illi sollicitudo præcipitur."—S. Hieronym. v. sup. Not. ad. p. 166.]

[r] ["Deinde ipsa caritas, quæ sibi invicem homines nodo unitatis adstringit, non haberet aditum refundendo-

SERMON VI.

sine nodo facile dissolvitur; that unity, saith he, which hath no knot, is easily dissolved. This "unity" is so comfortable, so beneficial both to Church and State, that it cannot be too fast bound. But if it be not fast bound, both it and the benefit will soon be lost.

Now *in vinculo,* in that which binds, this is to be observed; it compasses all about which it contains, and then where it meets there is the knot: so that which is bound is held close within the embracings of the band; and the band is not of one substance, and the knot of another, but both of one and the same substance. So it is here. For "the unity of the Spirit" is contained and compassed, as it were, by "peace:" "peace" goes before it, to bring it in; and "peace" goes with it, when it is in; and "peace" goes round about it, to keep it in. And where the two ends of "peace" meet, there "unity" is fast and knit up. And the knot is of the same substance with the band, "peace," too. And therefore where the ancient reading of the text is, to "keep unity in the band of peace," there some will have it, to "keep unity" *in vinculo quod est pax,* in that band which is peace.

[Corn. a] Lapide. [in loc.][s]

This "band," as it is the "band of unity," so it is well fitted to "the unity" it binds. For if you mark it, it binds "unity;" and the band is but one, *in vinculo pacis,* "in the band of peace;" one band. And yet that which is *unum,* is not *unius,* that which is but one, is not only of one, for it binds many, whole Churches, whole kingdoms. And both bodies are ever safest when the "band" is one, and that one able to hold them. For when this "one band of peace" cannot bind close, it is a shrewd argument, either that some ill-humour swells, and will not endure the band, or that the band itself is strained and made weak. And in both these cases, timely help must be applied, or the "unity" of the body is in danger.

You may see this plain in the natural body. The out-band

rum et quasi miscendorum sibimet animorum, si homines per homines nihil discerent." — S. Augustin. De Doctrinâ Christianâ, in Prolog. 6, tom. iii. pars i. p. 4. Ed. Benedict.—This seems to be the passage, for it agrees with Laud's reference, but hardly comes up to the force of the sense which he puts upon it.]

[s] ["*In vinculo pacis,* id est, in vinculo quod est ipsa pax; pax enim quasi catena, imo quasi gluten, animos sibi invicem connectit, consociat, constringit et colligat."—Cornelius a Lapide, in loc. p. 502, ut sup. pp. 161, 162.]

of the body is the skin; if the body be too full of humours, and they foul and in motion, the body swells till the skin breaks. So it is in the Church, and so it is in the State, when the body is too full of humours.

The inner band of the body is the sinew; it is *σύνδεσμος*, the very word which the Apostle uses, "the band," or the sinew, "of peace." If the sinew be broken or overstrained, there is much pain and weakness in the body, and the members hang as loose as if they were falling one from another. And so it is in the ecclesiastical, and no other than so in the civil, body. If there be but a straining in the band, though perhaps the sinew be not yet broken, it is high time to look to the "unity" of the body. Well—what remedy then? What? why, sure there is none but *vinculum vinculi:* the sinew must have a swathe, and that which was wont to bind the body must be bound up itself. And if the cure light not into honest and good chirurgeons' hands, it may prove a lame Church and a weak State ever after. God bless the body, therefore, and direct the chirurgeons.

Now, as the band of these great bodies, the Church and the State, may be broken, so the knot, which hath ever been hard to untie, may be cut. And both Church and State have ever had cause to fear both, both breaking and cutting. Saint Ignatius was afraid of this in the Church by and by, after the Apostles' times, and therefore he writes to the Church of Philadelphia in any case to fly and shun *μερισμὸν*, the partition or cutting off this knot. And indeed it is not fit for any man employed about this "band of peace" to have his razor about him. And David was afraid of this in the State; and he had cause, great cause: for some wild, unruly men cried out then, "Let us break their bands in sunder, and cast their cords from us." What bands? Why, all the bands of peace, and all the bands of allegiance too. For the consultation then was, saith Calvin, to depose David;

Epist. ad Philadelph.[t]

Ps. ii. 3.

In Ps. ii.[u]

[t] [*τέκνα οὖν φωτὸς, καὶ ἀληθείας, φεύγετε τὸν μερισμὸν, καὶ τὰς κακοδιδασκαλίας . . ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἴδιον ἐποίουν, ὡς ἄνθρωπος εἰς ἕνωσιν κατηρτισμένος· οὗ δὲ μερισμός ἐστιν καὶ ὀργὴ, θεὸς οὐ κατοικεῖ.*—S. Ignat. ad Philadelph. ii.—viii. tom. ii. p. 32. Ed. Coteler.]

[u] ["Quum illis penitus decretum esset per fas aut nefas dejieere ex regio jure Davidem, quicquid ore proferrent, hæc tamen eorum fuit consultatio, quomodo possint regnum divinitus ordinatum evertere."—Calvin. Comment. in Ps. ii. 3, p. 4. Ed. Amstelod. 1667.]

SERMON VI.

[Ps. ii.] 4. Ver. 9.

"But He that dwells in heaven laughed them to scorn," and then "brake them in pieces like a potter's vessel." Now the breakers of "the band of peace" both in Church and Commonwealth are pride and disobedience: for these two cry one to another, that is, pride to disobedience, Come, let us break the band.

And this is very observable, and with reference to this "band of peace" too: you shall never see a disobedient man but he is proud: for he would obey if he did not think himself fitter to govern. Nor shall you ever see a proud man stoop to bind up any thing: but if you see him stoop, take heed of him, it is doubtless to break "the band of peace." The reason is plain: if he stoop to bind up, he knows he shall be but one of the bundle; which his pride cannot endure. But if he stoop to loose the band, then he may be free, and show his virtue, as he calls it, that is, hope to run foremost in the head of a faction. Fond men, that can be thus bewitched with pride against themselves. For when they are bound up, though but as one of the bundle, yet therein, under God, they are strong and safe: but when "the band" is broken, and they perhaps, as they wish, in the head, headlong they run upon their own ruin.

Thus you have seen the Apostle's care for "unity:" for "unity," but fain would he have it "of the Spirit." This "unity" he desires you should "keep;" yea study and endeavour to keep, as "the Spirit" is ready "to prevent and assist," that you may be able to keep it. This "unity" must be kept "in peace," and if you will have it sure, in "the band of peace."

That which remains, is, that you obey and follow the Apostle's exhortation: that all of you in yourselves, and with others, "endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the band of peace," both in Church and commonwealth. For good counsel, such as here our Apostle's is, doth not make Church or State happy when it is given, but when it is followed. And to the danger that may come, it adds guilt to all such as will not obey the counsel that they may prevent the danger.

And let me say thus much for "unity of the Spirit;" it is that which ties us one to another, and all to God, and

God to all. Without God we cannot be safe, either in this life, or that to come. And without this "unity" no man is sure of his neighbour's assistance, nor any man of God's. But by this "unity" God Himself is content to be "bound" to you. And that which is bound is sure and ready at need. *Et fortis cum debili ligatus, et illum portat et se,* saith Saint Chrysostom; and strength bound to weakness bears up both itself and weakness. And in this sense I can admit of Scaliger's subtlety, "that unity is omnipotent."

Hom. ix. in Eph.[x]

Exerc. cccIxv. sect. i.[y]

"Keep unity," then, and be sour,—it is honourable justice —upon any that shall endeavour to break it. He deserves not to live, that would dissolve that band by which God hath bound Himself to assist the Church and the commonwealth. Our adversaries make "unity" a note of the Church, and they persuade such as will believe them that we have no unity, and so no Church. I would not have occasion given them to enlarge their doctrine, lest in the next place they take upon them to prove that we have no commonwealth neither for want of "unity."

Now to "keep unity," I have made bold to direct you one way already; and here is another. It is necessary that the governors have a good and a quick eye to discover the cunning of them that would break the "unity first," and the whole body after. You shall give a guess at them by this; they will speak as much for "unity" as any men; but yet if you mark them, you shall still find them busy about the knot that binds up "unity in peace:" somewhat there is that wrings them there. They will pretend, perhaps, it is very good there should be *vinculum,* a band to bind men to

[x] [ὁ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ δεδεμένος μετὰ τοῦ ἀσθενοῦς διαβαστάζει τὲ ἐκεῖνον, καὶ οὐκ ἀφίησιν ἀπολέσθαι· κἂν μετὰ τοῦ ῥαθύμου προσδεθῇ, διεγείρει μᾶλλον αὐτόν. — S. Chrysostom. Hom. ix. sect. 3, in Epist. ad Ephes. c. iv. tom. xi. p. 72. Ed. Benedict.]

[y] ["Sicuti novenarius, omnium summus ac perfectissimus, cæteros omnes arcet, ac continet: neque ab ullo, nisi ab unitate augeri potest, ut denarius fiat qui est omnium ultimus. Unitatis igitur omnipotentiam quandam celebramus: tum quia est principium omnium numerorum; tum quia est finis. Claudit namque novenarium, in quo sunt omnes species, ac proportiones quantitatis, tam primariæ quam consequentes, atque, ut vocant, resultantes. Longitudo, latitudo, profunditas, perfectum, imperfectum, divisibile, indivisibile, trigonum, cubum, oblongum, plurilaterum, æqualitas, inæqualitas, absolutum, comparatum, simplex, multiplex, simile, diversum. In specie vero duplicitas, sesquialterum, triplicitas, sesquitertium, quadruplicitas, superpatiens. Est autem unitas principium et formale et materiale et efficiens et finis." —Jul. Scaliger de Subtil. ad Cardan. Exercitat. cccIxv. p. 887. Ed. Lugdun. 1615.]

SERMON VI.

obedience—O God forbid else! but they would not have the knot too hard. Take heed. Their aim is, they would have a little more liberty that have too much already. Or perhaps they will pretend they would not untie the knot; no, there may be danger in that; but they would only turn it to the other side, because this way it lies uneasily. But this is but a shift neither. For turn the knot which way you will, all binding to obedience will be grievous to some. It may be they will protest that though they should untie it, yet they would not leave it loose. They would perhaps tie it otherwise, but they would be sure to knit it as fast. Trust not this pretext neither. Out of question, their meaning is to tie up "unity" in a bow-knot, which they might slip at one end when they list. Indeed, whatsoever they pretend, if they be curious about the knot, I pray look to their fingers, and to the "band of peace" too. For whatsoever the pretences be, they would be at the dissolving of "unity."

Well;—provide for the keeping of "unity;" and what then? Why then, God bless you with the success of this day. For this day, the seventeenth of March, Julius Cæsar overthrew Sextus [Cneus] Pompeius;[z] and that victory was in Spain; and Spain which had long been troublesome, settled, and came quietly in by that one action. And this very day, too, Frederick II.[a] entered Jerusalem, and recovered whatsoever

[z] [The battle of Munda was fought xvi. Kal. April. *i.e.* March 17, "ipsis Liberalibus." Hirt. B. Hisp. c. 31. —*ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἐνίκησε τῇ τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτῇ.* Plutarch. Cæs. c. 56. —"Tertia post Idus lux est celeberrima Baccho." Ovid. Fast. iii. 713. — Cf. Clinton, Fast. Hellen. vol. iii. pp. 204—206.]

[a] ["Eodem anno (sc. 1229), Dominus noster Jesus Christus Salvator et omnium sæculorum consolator, visitans misericorditer plebem suam, civitatem sanctam Hierusalem, et terram totam, quam Dominus idem et redemptor noster Dei filius Suo sanguine consecravit, precibus universalis ecclesiæ, generaliter populo Christiano, specialiter vero Romanorum Imperatori restituit Friderico. Fuit autem aliquid beneplacitum Domino in populo Suo, qui exaltat mansuctos in salutem, ut faceret vindictam in nationibus, et dissensiones in gentibus Saracenis. Erat enim in diebus istis Soldanus Babyloniæ domesticis undique præliis tam graviter oppressus; quod ne minus sufficeret ad plura, coactus est cum Imperatore mediantibus treugis decennalibus componere, ac Terram Sanctam populo sine sanguinis effusione reddere Christiano. Sicque missum est a Domino bellum bonum, ut rumperetur pax mala. Sed hujus gratiæ divinæ beneficium, ut legenti clarius illucescat, literas legat Romani Imperatoris auro bullatas, quas Henrico (III.) Angliæ regi in hæc verba direxit:—'Fridericus, Dei gratia, &c. . . . Ad recognitionem vero tam grandis beneficii, tantique honoris, quæ præter merita nostra, et contra opinionem multorum, ad perennem misericordiæ Suæ laudem misericorditer contulit nobis Deus, ut in loco Suo Sancto vitulum labiorum nostrorum personaliter offeremus Eidem, noveritis, quod die Sabbati, xvij die mensis Martii hujus secundæ Indictionis, cum peregrinis omnibus, qui

Saladin had taken from the Christians. But I must tell you, these emperors and their forces were great keepers of "unity." SERMON VI.

The first lesson at this day's evening prayer is Judges iv. There Sisera, captain of Jabin's army, fell before Israel. But I must tell you, the two tribes, "Zebulun and Naphtali, went up in great both unity and courage against them." And I make no doubt but this day may be a day of happy success to this Church and State, if Saint Paul may be heard, and that yet, before it be too late, there be a hearty "endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the band of peace." Judg. iv. Judg. v. 8.

And now, to conclude: I beseech you to remember that all this "unity" and "peace," whatever it be, and when it is at the best, is but *vestigium*, a track, and a footing of that everlasting peace which is to come. And I would not have you so love this peace of grace, that you should at any time forget the infinite peace of glory: the band whereof nor earth nor hell can break. For it is not folly only, but madness, saith Saint Gregory, to love this "peace," this "unity," which is but a footstep, a print in the dust, soon worn out, soon defaced, and not love God and His peace, *a quo impressum est*, whose very foot made this so safe, so happy, so pleasant as it is. But I cannot but hope "better things of you, and such as accompany" safety here, and "salvation" hereafter. For "you have not so learned Christ," as that you can prefer any "unity" before His, or neglect Par. iii. Pastor. Curæ. Ad 23.[b] [Heb. vi. 9.] [Eph. iv. 20.]

nobiscum fideliter Christum Dei Filium sunt secuti, intravimus sanctam civitatem Hierusalem; et statim tanquam Catholicus Imperator, adorato sepulchro Dominico reverenter, sequenti die coronam portavimus, &c. .. Data apud sanctam civitatem Hierusalem xvij die Mensis Martii. Anno Domini M.CC.XXIX." — Matth. Paris. pp. 356—358. Ed. Londin. 1640.— For the opposite side of the picture, it may be well to refer to the letters of Pope Gregory IX., and other documents and facts connected with the very questionable character of the Emperor Frederick, as "a great keeper of unity," in Raynaldus, tom. i. (continuation of Baronius, tom. xxi.) passim, and particularly tom. ii. pp. 6, &c. on this "recovery of Jerusalem," which seems to have been a disgraceful and dishonourable transaction.]

[b] ["Unde et admonendi sunt pacati, ne dum nimis humanam pacem desiderant, pravos hominum mores nequaquam redarguant: et consentiendo perversis, ab auctoris sui se pace disjungant: ne dum humana foras jurgia metuunt, interni fœderis discissione feriantur. Quid est enim pax transitoria, nisi quoddam vestigium pacis æternæ? Quid ergo esse dementius potest, quam vestigia in pulvere impressa diligere, sed Ipsum a quo impressa sunt, non amare?"— S. Gregorii M. Regulæ Pastoralis, pars iii. c. 22, tom. ii. p. 69. Ed. Benedict.]

SERMON VI.

the safe-keeping of that which is his footstep in this world—"the unity of the Spirit."

Let us therefore all pray unto God, that He will evermore give both the King and his people "the comfort of His Spirit:" that that "Spirit of His" may so direct all your counsels that they may be for "unity:"—that following the direction of this "Spirit of grace," we may enjoy "the unity of the same Spirit" both in Church and commonwealth:—that all our endeavours, public and private, may tend to the "keeping of this unity:"—that our "keeping of unity" may be such as it ought, in "peace," "in the very band of peace."

I began with Saint Paul's exhortation; I end with his prayer and benediction. It is the prayer of this day; for it is the second lesson at evening service. "The God of Peace give you peace always, and by all means:" "peace" in concord, and "peace" in charity, "peace" on earth, and "peace" in heaven; "peace" of grace, and "peace" in glory. To all which Christ for His infinite mercies' sake bring us all—to Whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be ascribed all might, majesty, and dominion, this day and for ever. Amen.

2 Thess. iii. 16.

A

COMMEMORATION

OF

King Charles

His INAUGURATION.

OR,

A SERMON

PREACHED AT

Pauls Crosse

By WILLIAM LAUD then Bishop of

London, late Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*,

beheaded on Tower-Hill on Fryday

the 10. of Jan. 1644.

Printed according to Order.

LONDON,
Printed by *M. B.* 1645.

[The allusion to this Sermon in the Diary is:—

"Anno 1631, Mareh 27, Coronation Day, and Sunday.—I preaehed at St. Paul's Cross."

King Charles's actual aecession was on the day of his father's death, viz. Sunday, March 27, 1625, but his actual coronation, or inauguration, was (see preliminary note to Sermon IV.) solemnized on February 2, 1625-26. The reigns of the earlier Kings of England "did not begin until the solemnization of that important compact between a monarch and his people—his coronation, or public recognition." (Sir H. Nicolas's Chronology of History, p. 275.) Perhaps it was in deference to this, the older constitutional theory, that, as in this case, the anniversary of the Royal *Accession*, which was on March 27, was eelebrated as the day of the King's "*Inauguration*," or "Coronation Day." As has been said in the Preface to the present volume, this Sermon does not seem to have been printed in the Author's life-time; and no contemporary allusions, beyond the scanty notice of it in the Diary, either to the circumstances under which it was delivered, or to the curious fact of its first appearance in print so late as 1645, have been recovered by the present Editor. That it is a posthumous publication will sufficiently account for its incomplete character, both as regards style, and the entire absence of marginal or other references. The references supplied in the present notes are, from the nature of the case, in some instances conjectural.]

SERMON VII.

PREACHED AT PAUL'S CROSS, IN COMMEMORATION OF KING CHARLES'S INAUGURATION.

Psalm lxxii. 1.

Give the King Thy judgments, O God, and Thy righteousness unto the King's Son.

The Psalms of David and his heart never went sweeter. The title of the psalm doth not only tell us that, but it tells us that David had an eye upon his son Solomon: an eye, that is true, but not both eyes, upon Solomon; no, nor one absolutely fixed, because a greater than Solomon is here. A greater than Solomon, who is that? Who? why, it is Christ. Solomon was the type and shadow, if you will, and so one eye may be upon him; but the other eye must pierce through to the antitype, and body of the promise, which is Christ. So the ancient Fathers, Justin,[a] Tertullian,[b] Origen[c], Athanasius,[d] and the rest,[e] are clear; and upon very good

[a] [καὶ ὅπου λέλεκται, ὁ Θεὸς τὸ κρίμα Σοῦ τῷ βασιλεῖ δὸς, ἐπειδὴ βασιλεὺς Σαλομὼν γέγονεν, εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν ψαλμὸν εἰρῆσθαι φατὲ, τῶν λόγων τοῦ ψαλμοῦ διαῤῥήδην κηρυσσόντων εἰς τὸν αἰώνιον βασιλέα, τουτέστιν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν, εἰρῆσθαι· ὁ γὰρ Χριστὸς βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἱερεὺς, καὶ Θεὸς, καὶ Κύριος, καὶ ἄγγελος, καὶ ἄνθρωπος, κ. τ. λ.— Justin. Martyr. Dialog. cum Tryph. c. xxxiv. p. 131. Ed. Benedict.]

[b] ["Est et alius Psalmus ita incipiens, Deus judicium Tuum regi da, id est, Christo regnaturo: et justitiam Tuam filio regis, id est, populo Christi. Filii enim Ejus sunt, qui in Ipso renascuntur. Sed et hic Psalmus Salomoni canere dicetur: quæ tamen soli competunt Christo, docere non poterunt etiam cætera non ad Salomonem, sed ad Christum pertinere? &c."—Tertullian. adv. Marcionem, lib. v. c. ix. p. 472. Ed. Rigalt. Lut. Par. 1664.]

[c] [εἰς Σαλομὼν τὸν υἱὸν Δαβίδ. βίβλος γὰρ γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαβίδ. Σαλομὼν γὰρ ἑρμηνεύεται εἰρηνικός· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ εἰρηνὴ ἡμῶν . . . . βασιλεὺς Χριστὸς βασιλέως θεοῦ υἱός. — Ex Origene Select. in Ps. lxxi. tom. ii. p. 761. Ed. Benedict.]

[d] [παρουσία Χριστοῦ διὰ τῶν παρόντων κατασημαίνεται, καὶ κλῆσις ἐθνῶν· εἰς Σαλομὼν δὲ ἐπιγέγραπται ὁ ψαλμὸς· οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ἀληθὴς Σαλομὼν ὁ εἰρηναῖος, διότι καὶ πεποίηκεν ἓν ἀμφότερα, καὶ τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ ἔλυσεν. S. Athanas. Argument. in Ps. lxxi. Exposit. in Psalmos, Opp. tom. ii. p. 1127. Ed. Benedict.]

[e] [καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ δὲ οὐκ ἀνάρμοστος,

SERMON VII.

ground: for there are many things in this psalm that cannot be applied to Solomon, and no type is bound to represent in all; and there are some typical propositions, as one[f] observeth upon Deut. xviii., that are appliable to the type, or to the antitype alone. There are many things in this psalm that are not appliable to Solomon; but some are, and none more than the words of the text. For these words can as hardly be applied to Christ, as that after to Solomon. Now that that agreed to types before Christ's coming, agrees to all that are like Christ after His coming. Therefore this is appliable to all godly, religious kings; for all have direction from, and share in, the prayer of Solomon.

These words that begin the psalm I shall take in that sense as applied to the type, to Solomon, and in him to all religious Kings. Which so to Solomon, that I am heartily glad to find Christ, so full in the psalm, so near the King.

First, I am glad to find Him so full in the psalm, because that is a confutation of all Judaism: for they received the Psalms as well as we; and here in this psalm there are many things that they cannot fasten upon Solomon, or any other but Christ. So clear is that, that Tertullian[g] hath observed

ἀτεχνῶς δὲ τῷ Σωτῆρι συμβαίνουσα· Σολομὼν γὰρ εἰρηνικὸς ἑρμηνεύεται .... τὴν αὐτοῦ τοίνυν βασιλείαν, καὶ τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατορθωθεῖσαν εἰρήνην, καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν, οὗτος ὁ ψαλμὸς προθεσπίζει .... καὶ βασιλεύς ἐστι, καὶ υἱὸς βασιλέως ὁ δεσπότης Χριστός.—Theodoret. Interpret. in Ps. lxxi. tom. i. pp. 676, 677. Ed. Sirmond.

"Ipse Pater Deus dedit Filio judicii potestatem, et non quia Suus, sed quia Filius hominis est. O vere Patrem misericordiarum! Vult per hominem homines judicari, quo in tanta trepidatione et perturbatione malorum, electis fiduciam præstet naturæ similitudo. Prædixerat hoc quondam sanctus David, orans pariter et prophetans: *Deus*, inquiens, *judicium Tuum*, &c."—S. Bernard. Serm. lxxiii. in Cantic. p. 177 G. Ed. Paris. 1551.

"In Salomonem quidem Psalmi hujus titulus prænotatur: sed hæc in eo dicuntur quæ non possunt illi Salomoni regi Israel secundum carnem, juxta ea quæ de illo Sancta Scriptura loquitur, convenire: Domino autem Christo aptissime possunt."—S. Augustin. Enarr. in Ps. lxxi. tom. iv. p. 742. Ed. Benedict.

Cf. Euseb. Demonstrat. Evangelic. lib. vii. c. 7, pp. 353-355. Ed. Paris. 1628.—[Pseudo] S. Hieronym. Brev. in Psalt.—[Pseudo] S. Basil. Schol. in Psalmos.—S. Hieronym. Comment. lib. xvi. in Isaiæ Proph. c. lviii. tom. iii. p. 426. Ed. Benedict.—Id. Comment. lib. ii. in Jerem. Proph. c. viii. ibid. p. 572.—Id. Comment. lib. iii. in Zach. Proph. c. xiv. ibid. p. 1796.—S. Gregor. M. lib. ii. Hom. xxxviii. in Evang. tom. i. p. 1635. Ed. Benedict.—[Pseudo] S. Chrysostom. Hom. ad p. 176. App. tom. viii. Ed. Benedict.]

[f] [Probably Lorinus in loc. *i.e.* in Deut. xviii.]

[g] ["Igitur quoniam filii Israel affirmant nos errare recipiendo Christum, qui jam venit, præscribamus eis ex ipsis Scripturis jam venisse Christum, qui nuntiabatur [prædicabatur]."—Tertullian. adv. Judæos, c. 13, p. 198. Ed. Rigalt.]

long since against them: the Jews, saith he, scorn us for receiving Christ as a Saviour, *Præscribemus tamen*, &c., yet we prove against them out of the Scriptures that they receive, that Christ is come, the promised, prophesied Messias. Secondly, I am glad to find Christ so near the King; because nothing can be more honourable and safe, for David and Solomon, the father and the son that is to succeed the King, than to have God the Father, and Christ His Son, so near to them; so near and close, not only as they stand mixed in the psalm, but far more close by the prayer of David, and by the blessings that follow in the psalm upon the prayer; blessings, not upon David and Solomon only, but upon the father and the son in any kingdom, where the father with a true religious heart embraceth Christ, and will teach his son to follow his steps; for then, and there, God will give plenty of "judgment to the King," and a full measure of "righteousness to the King's son."

My text, then, as it is appliable to David and Solomon, for so I shall follow it here, is the prayer of David to God for himself first, and then for his son Solomon after; for both have reference.

And the blessings which follow upon this prayer made by David, and granted by God, are very many and great, and follow in the psalm, namely: here is "judgment" for the [Ver. 2.] people, and that "according to right." Then here is "defence [Ver. 4.] for the poor:" I [aye], and for their very children too. Then [Ver. 3.] after this here is "peace" upon all, "abundance of peace." [Ver. 4] Then there is the "punishment," and that as rightly settled as may be upon the "wrong doer." And all these come [Ver. 7.] together, that "righteous men may flourish."

So it is a necessary prayer to be made, a very necessary prayer: for all these, and many more, blessings follow and come upon any nation, and any people, when God comes to "give His judgment to the King, and His righteousness to the King's son."

My text is a prayer; and there are two petitions, and these two petitions divide my text into two parts:—the one is, that "God would give His judgments unto the King;" —the other is, that He would "give His righteousness unto

SERMON VII.

the King's son;" for all other inferior circumstances fall into one of these.

I will begin at the first. "Give the King Thy judgments, O God." My text, I told you, is a prayer; and I have made choice of a praying text. The age is so bad, they will not endure a good King to be commended, for danger of flattery: I hope I shall offend none by praying for the King. The text is a prayer, and *quis orat,* who it is that prays, is the first circumstance that appears in the text; it is David, it is the King, and he bears a prime and a great part wheresoever he is. And it was David's honour, for there was never any King so often found at his prayers as David was; "seven times a day will I praise Thee." This was David's promise, and for aught we know it was David's performance too. And through all the book of his Psalms, that devout part of Scripture, all his praises go mixed with prayer; so he prayed very oft. And certainly there is nothing more necessary for any King than prayer. And therefore Saint Austin[h] accounts it one of the greatest happinesses of a King not to neglect to offer to God *sacrificium orationis,* the sacrifice of prayer.

[Ps. cxix. 164.]

1. And there is great need it should be so: for of all men, priests only excepted, Kings have the greatest account to make God: therefore prayer is very necessary for them; that since no man is able to keep his accounts even, God would be pleased to be merciful, and take Christ into the reckoning.

2. Of all men, could greatness let them feel their wants, none have such burthens on their shoulders as Kings have; therefore prayer is necessary for them, that they may call as often upon God, as He calls oft upon them that "are weary and heavy laden to refresh them."

[Matt. xi. 28.]

3. Of all men, none have so great troubles as Kings have. Indeed troubles must needs be great, or else they dare not seize on Kings: therefore prayer is necessary then especially when the trouble is such, as no wit of man can work off, and repel: and such troubles there are, when there is no shelter, or help left in the world, but this, "Lord, remember

[Ps. cxxxii. 1.]

[h] ["... Si pro suis peccatis, humilitatis et miserationis et orationis sacrificium Deo suo vero immolare non negligunt. Tales Christianos imperatores dicimus esse felices interim spe, postea re ipsa futuros." — S. Augustin. de Civitate Dei, lib. v. c. 24, tom. vii. p. 141. Ed. Benedict.]

David, and all his troubles." But be the troubles never so great, if David pray, and God remember, the King cannot be lost in any sorrow. Hezekiah found it so when he fasted and prayed, and turned to the Lord, for then the host of Sennacherib was presently broken, and himself saved. So then David is at this necessary work; he is at prayer. SERMON VII. [Is. xxxvii. 1.]

Aye, but for whom is it that David prays?

Surely, divers ancient and modern divines[i] think that in this place "the King," and "the King's Son," stand but for one person, the person of Solomon under two different relations, "the King and the King's Son;" and that there is an emphasis added by the repetition. And they think too that David penned this psalm when he was dying, when he resigned his crown to Solomon, and delivered the sceptre into his hand; which the Jesuit Lorinus[k] tells us, and he is very exact, that it was just four years—surely I think he fails of his reckoning—before David's death, when he made this prayer for Solomon. And he avoucheth Jerome to be his author: but it is not so; the Jesuit in this, as in divers greater business, is too bold. Indeed Jerome saith[l] that David lived after Solomon was crowned *aliquot annos*, "some years:" but he saith not just "four;" it may be more, or fewer: I will not enter upon the question *quando*, when David made this prayer, and penned this psalm. [in loc.]

First, because the *quando*, the time here is not in the text, nor in any part else in Scripture: therefore I may safely be ignorant.

Secondly, because, suppose this were the last psalm that ever David made, as some collect out of the last verse, yet, that supposed will not prove that he made this psalm after he had crowned Solomon King: for before Solomon was [1 Kings i. 1.]

[i] ["Appellat autem ipsum Salomonem, et *regem*, et *regis filium*, hoc est, suum, quem primum ex tribu Juda regem Deus idem constituerat. Hoc Eusebius prius monuit concedere Salomoni proprie convenire."—Lorinus, Comment. in Ps. lxxi. tom. ii. p. 322 D.]

[k] ["Quatuor ante mortem annis tradidisse Salomoni regnum Davidem scribit Vitali Hieronymus: quod cum nulli alteri contigerit regi, ut notavit Augustinus (de Civ. Dei, 17, c. 8) præfiguratio quædam Dei Patris fuit, qui *omne judicium dedit Filio*."—Idem, p. 322 E.]

[l] ["Ad summam illud dici potest, quod in regno David Salomon quum duodecim esset annorum, solium patris obtinuerit: et postea, quia Scriptura reliquit incertum, vixerit David regnante jam filio aliquod [aliquot] annos, qui sibi et non Salomoni imputentur, &c."—S. Hieronym. Epist. ad Vital. Presb. tom. ii. p. 619. Ed. Benedict.]

SERMON VII.

crowned, David was little less than bed-rid, at which time it is out of question that David prayed, therefore he did not then compose this psalm. Therefore I shall take liberty to dissent from this opinion, with all submission to better judgments; but especially to the Church.

Methinks it was not so near night with the prophet when he penned this psalm. I rather think that David made it when himself was King, and his purpose was firmly set that Solomon should succeed him, for so he had sworn. And I think this prayer here in the beginning of the psalm was made first by David for himself, and then for Solomon after. And since this opinion maintains nothing contrary to the analogy of faith, nothing that hinders the context, nothing that crosses any determination of the Church; nay since there is in it more piety to God, more duty to himself, more instruction to his Son, and more good example to other Kings, that the prayer begin at himself, I will take the prayer as I find it in the very words of the psalm, to be a prayer, first for David, and then for his Son, and so proceed.

[1 Kings i. 30.]

Well, then, David's prayer here is first for himself,—we shall come to his Son after;—and he is an excellent example to Kings in this: for the first thing that makes prayer necessary, absolutely necessary for a King, is himself: that a superior hand, even God's hand, would set, and keep him right, whom so many inferior hands labour to set awry.

Aye, but what need the King to pray for himself? he wants no prayers whom all the people pray for. Indeed it is true, the people are bound to pray for their King, and I make no doubt, but that the people perform this duty as they are bound, since it is a tribute which by the law of God they ought to pay; and David so great and so good a King had out of question the prayers of all his people, both for himself, and his Son; yet for all that you shall find David at his prayers for himself too. And certainly there is great reason for it; for of all acts of charity, this of prayer is aptest to begin at home.

[1 Tim. ii. 1.]

It is true, indeed, the King ought to have the prayers of his people, and that man cannot deserve so much as the name of a Christian, that prays not heartily for the King; because that is not the King's good only, but the people's

way to lead a life "in godliness and honesty." Therefore, that man that makes no conscience of praying for the King, let him pretend what he can, he must be presumed to have as little care of all godliness and honesty. [1 Tim. ii. 5.] SERMON VII.

Aye, but though the King ought to have the prayers of his people; yet in the performance of their duty, I read not of any dispensation the King hath to neglect his own, not to pray for himself. If he be a King like David, he must be a King at his prayers too, especially in those great things that concern the King, that concern the kingdom, that concern his Son, and his succession to his kingdom; there he of necessity must pray for himself. He may joy in his people's prayers there, but he must pray for himself too.

And God be ever blessed for it, you have a King that is daily at his prayers, both for himself and for you: yet here, I pray take this along with you; that as it is the people's duty to pray for their King, and that takes not off the King to pray for himself: so, on the contrary side, the King's religious care in praying for himself is so far from lessening, that it augments, the obligation of the people to pray for the King. And when both pray, the King for himself, and the people for the King, God will not refuse their prayers. [the, 1651.]

And the prayer granted, though it fall first upon the head of the King, as good reason it should, yet it becomes as "Aaron's oil," for it "runs to the skirts" of all his people; so that they have the benefit, both of their own, and of his, prayer. I will never misdoubt the piety of this nation in the performing this duty, of which both here, and in all places, they are met this day to make public proof. For the person that keeps close to this duty, among many others, he shall be sure of this one great blessing, he cannot fall into the opposite sin of murmuring against the King. David, the King in the text, he had faithful and religious people; yet there was a Shimei among them, that instead of praying for the King, cursed and reviled him. David was very patient; but I pray remember what Solomon the King's son did to Shimei; remember that, and if the memory of his punishment would affright other men from running into this blasphemous iniquity, all would soon be well. [Ps. cxxiii. 2.] [2 Sam. xvi. 5.] [1 Kings ii. 36-46.]

We are to consider, in the next place, to whom it is here

SERMON VII.

that the prophet prays, and that is expressed, *a Deo*: "Give the King Thy judgments, O God." Do Thou give. And as this is all men's duty; so it is the duty of the King too among the rest to go in prayer to God, and to God alone. Therefore Damascene[m] puts God into the very definition of prayer: Prayer, saith that Father, is *petitio decentium a Deo*, the asking of those things that are fit to be asked of God. For prayer is one of the greatest parts of divine worship: so great, that Parmatius, disputing against Sermonian,[n] takes prayer for the whole entire worship of God. No Pope can dispense with King or people, either not to pray, or not to pray to God, but saints, or angels. As for their distinctions, they are all new; the ancient Church knew them not: though these have their use sometimes; yet they are a great deal too nice to be used in prayer, that is so essential a part of divine worship.

And you have great cause again to bless and magnify God for a King, so constant in religion, so devout in prayer, so direct in his devotion to God alone, as he hath ever shewed himself to be; and God for His mercy sake ever hold him there. And indeed to whom should he, or any of you, go in prayer, but to God? for none can give but He; nor none can bless, or preserve that that is given, but He. If the King look to have his throne established to himself, or his Son after him, he must go to God for the settling of it, or else it will shake then when he thinks it surest. And since [Prov. viii. 15.] God hath proclaimed it Himself, "by Me Kings reign," princes have reason to look up to Him, that they may reign by Him, since against Him, nay without Him, they cannot reign. To God then the King goes by prayer. But all this is lost except we know for what? And that follows next in

[m] ["Oratio est mentis ad Deum ascensus: aut, eorum a Deo postulatio, quæ postulare convenit."—S. Joh. Damascen. Orthodox. Fid. lib. iii. c. 24. De Domini Oratione.—"Nec minus secunda in definitione *orationis* posita particula, Christo congruit, utpote decentium a Deo petitio."—Clichtovei Comment. in loc. S. Joh. Damascen. pp. 426, 427. Ed. Billii, Paris. 1619.]

[n] [The present Editor has been unable to verify this referenee. Neither "Parmatius" nor "Sermonian" are known to him: and as the Sermon is posthumous, and the whole paragraph apparently incomplete, it is probable that some incurable blunder has been committed in transcribing the MS. There is a disputation extant between Arnobius (Junior) and Serapion, which concludes with a diseussion upon the nature of prayer: but there does not seem to be any passage in it which answers to Laud's reference.]

the text. It is for "judgment." It is indeed for all that a kingdom is, but principally for "judgment."

First, because under God, that is the establishing of the King's throne. [Prov. xxv. 5.]

Secondly, because that is one of the King's main virtues, for the ordering of his people: for they cannot have their well-being but by "justice, and judgment." Therefore in the Common Law[o] of this kingdom, justice is rightly styled "the supporter of the commonwealth." [Ps. cxxii. 5.]

I will not fill your ears with curiosities, nor trouble you with disputes, wherein this "judgment" desired for the King, and this "justice and righteousness" for the King's son, differ one from another. I know they differ in School learning, "judgment" standing usually for the habit, and "justice" for the sentence, or execution accordingly. But here Ruffinus,[p] Saint Austin,[q] and other divines,[r] tell me that "judgment and righteousness" in this place stand for that "justice and judgment," that the King is indifferently, and equally, to administer to his people, and so for one virtue. Here is the virtue and the power, both from the King, and [in loc.]

[o] ["Sicut per nervos compago corporis solidatur, sic per legem, quæ *a ligando* dicitur, corpus populi mysticum ligatur et servatur in unum." —Fortescue, de Laudibus Legum Angliæ, c. xiii.]

[p] ["*Deus judicium Tuum*, &c. . . . Hoc confirmat in se Dominus, ubi ait in Evangelio, *Pater non judicat quenquam, sed omne judicium dedit Filio.* Qui rex etiam filius regis est, quia et Deus Pater utique rex est: et Ipse Filium suum incarnatum constituit *regem super populum suum*, ut eum secundum *justitiam et judicium*, secundum bonos mores et virtutes spiritualiter regeret, atque in suo cœlesti regno perenniter collocaret. Ac si dicat: O Deus Pater, da regi Christo super homines judicium Tuum, ut sicut Tu habes judicare, ita habeat et Ille. Atque eidem filio regis, id est, Tui qui solus rex es, et in veritate Tuos regis, *da justitiam Tuam*, id est, justum judicium: quia rex ille semper justa judicia judicabit. Endiadis est, quia per diversa idem dicit. Idem est enim in hoc loco justitia et judicium. Nec aliud designant, nisi judicium justum."—Ruffin. in Ps. lxxi. Comment. p. 167. Ed. Lugd. 1570.]

[q] ["More autem Scripturæ idem repetitur. Nam quod dixit, *judicium tuum;* hoc aliter dixit, *justitiam tuam:* et quod dixit, *regi;* hoc aliter dixit, *filio regis:* . . . . Istæ autem repetitiones multum eloquia divina commendant, sive eadem verba, sive aliis verbis eadem sententia repetatur: et maxime reperiuntur in Psalmis."—S. Augustin. Enarr. in Ps. lxxi. tom. iv. p. 743. Ed. Benedict.]

[r] ["Distingui possunt hæc duo, *judicium* et *justitia;* ut sumendo justitiam, quod non raro fit, pro misericordia, clementia, æquitate . . . . spectari *judicium* potest in vero absque errore cognoscendo; *justitia* in tribuendo cuique quod suum est: vel prima virtutis pars in sontibus damnandis; altera in absolvendis innocentibus: vel illa circa causas capitales; hæc circa civiles: vel judiciariam potestatem significat *judicium; justitia* virtutem in ea exequenda: vel *judicium* pertinet ad seipsum; *justitia* ad alterum." — Lorinus, p. 323 B, in loc. ut sup. Not. ad p. 189.]

SERMON VII.

both from God. The benefit of both are the people's; but from God by the King. Therefore David prays here not for one virtue for himself, and another for his Son; but for one and the same virtue for both. For the son had as much [for, 1651.] need of this virtue as the father, the one being a King, and the other to be one; they both needed this great comprising kingly virtue, without which there can be no religious peaceable government over a people. So "justice and judgment" in this place, as usually when they attend the King, contain the virtue itself; and the power that brings this virtue to act. The execution is as "justice," and the power to give sentence, moderation and equity to smooth over the rigour of justice; and all other virtues, as far as they serve to strengthen, or direct and keep even the hands of "justice," prudence especially.

Then it is a wondrous necessary prayer here: for if "justice" should not be in the King's will,—which God forbid,—it must needs grow apt to turn to sourness. And if "judgment" and execution follow not upon the sentence of "justice," the King's hand must needs shake into remissness. And one of these, sourness, will make "judgment" itself, or the pretext of it, a scourge for the people. And the other, remissness, will make the people a worse scourge to themselves, for want of discipline to keep them in order; for of all scourges, there is none answerable to the unruliness of the people.

Now this virtue, as large as it is, when it fills the heart of [1 Sam. x. 9.] the King, it is called "another heart;" it puts on other dimensions: for it furnisheth the King's breast with all rectitude, and prudence; and rectitude is the being, and prudence, the moderation, and guide of all justice; for so without respect of persons it belongs to the wise and [Prov. xvi. 21.] prudent.

Nay, further; though this virtue be so large, yet the heart [Prov. xxv. 3.] of the King is so capacious, that "justice and judgment" cannot fill it, if it stand single; therefore David prayeth not for judgment single, but in the plural number, "Give Thy judgments."

And there is great reason that he should pray so: for "justice" continuing one and the same virtue, gives many

times different "judgments;" and it must needs be so, and the King must needs be an instrument in them all, and in the various occasions that himself and his people have use of. This David found in his own heart; therefore he prays for all. And this pray we alway for the King, for all "judgment" for the King. So "give, Lord."

And here it is fit for you a little to take a view of your own happiness, and to bless God for it; for you live under a King that keeps his laws in his life; a King that lives so, as if he were a law himself, and so needed none; a King that plants his judges so, as they may equally distribute his "judgment and justice" to his people; a King so blessed by God for your good, that whether it be for his own prayers, or yours, or both, or neither, but that God is pleased to shew His mercy and glory upon him to you, certain it is, that God hath given him a very large heart, and filled it to the brim with "justice and judgment."

Take heed, I heartily beg it of you—I say it again, take heed, I heartily beg it of you—that no sin of unthankfulness, no base, detracting, murmuring sin, possess your souls, or whet your tongues, or sour your breasts, "against the Lord, and against His anointed:" but remember in that these two things:— [Ps. ii. 2.]

First, remember, that it is as easy for God to take away any blessing, even the great blessing of a good King, as to give it,—remember that:—

And secondly, remember, that unthankfulness to God for so gracious a King, is the very ready way to do it,—remember that too; and therefore look to these things in time.

Aye, but what then, hath a King enough, when God hath given him "justice and judgment?" May his prayers, then, cease for himself, as your prayers for him? Hath he no more need of God, when God hath once given him "judgment?" O God forbid; surely he hath; and it is to be presumed, that the King daily prayeth; I am sure his duty it is, to pray, that God would ever please to continue and increase the "righteousness and judgment" He hath given to him. Nor can I think, but that David was very oft at this prayer too; for he saith, "the King's power loveth judgment." And it is more than probable, that that he [Ps. xcix. 4.]

SERMON VII.

loved he would pray for; he prayed to have it, and to increase it. And he that prays so oft,—I say so oft,—that God would keep him "in the way of His commandments, and cause him to make much of His law," he must of necessity be presumed to pray for "justice and judgment," which is the vigour of all laws, divine and human.

[Ps. cxix. passim.]

And Kings have great need oft to pray for this grace, and for the continuance and increase of it too. For Kings stand high, that is true; but the higher they stand, the more they are exposed to tempests, and wind-shakings, that pass over the lower valleys with less noise and danger. And Kings are great. That is true too: but the greater they are, the stiffer are the blasts of all temptations on them to batter, at least to shake,[s] justice and judgment. Therefore they have need of God still, when He hath given them most: and doubtless he that hath most, hath need to pray: for the greater the King is, he must most be presumed to be careful of this duty, that he prays to God more than once, and more than others.

Neither is this prayer for strengthening and increasing of "judgment" only. David goes further yet; it is not, "Give the King judgments, O God;" but "Give the King Thy judgments." For none but "Thine, O Lord," will serve the King: nor none but "Thine" will long preserve the people. I know worldly policy, and the professors, may flatter themselves too hot in it. They may think that any course of justice, that any standard may serve to govern a kingdom, without any eye at all to heaven, without any respect to God's judgments; without principally aiming at the judgment that is given, and executed by the Lord, as it is 2 Chron. xxix. They may think this, and more: but let no man deceive himself, and then most when he would be wise: for certainly there can be no kingdom rightly constituted, further than God Himself comes in, in laying

[s] [The matter from "justice and judgment" to "when he," is entirely omitted in the collected edition of 1651. It seems that a page of the 12mo. edition,—one which ought to intervene between the present pp. 307 and 308,—had been forgotten in making up the sheet. A similar hiatus occurs in the first edition of Cosins' Devotions, noticed in the Anglo-Catholic Library Edition, vol. ii. p. 328, n.]

the foundation of it in true, impartial "judgment." When the foundation of a kingdom is perfectly laid, which is a blessing seldom perfect in all things in any kingdom whatsoever, yet no kingdom can continue upon such a foundation, longer than it stands upright on it. If it sway on either side; if it fall not presently, it grows weaker still, the more it leans away from "justice and judgment," which is God's.

And as it is with kingdoms in their foundation, and superstructure, so it is with Kings too, that are to manage and dispose them; for if any King think himself sufficient by his own virtue against the difficulties of a kingdom, by his own justice, and wisdom, and integrity, he will find by his loss, as Nebuchadnezzar in his greatest greatness, that [Dan. iv.] he and all his virtue cannot long keep up, no, not a settled king[dom]. Therefore David was wise, as well as religious, that He went to "God for His judgments," without which he nor his Son after him, he knew, was able to hold up the kingdom.

"Give the King Thy judgments, O God." And what did David with them, when he had them? What? he resolved to make them the very rule of his government, and he did so; for first for himself, he tells us, "Thy judgments have [Ps. cxix. 30.] I laid before me:" there he makes them his own rule. Then he prays over his son Solomon, "O Lord, give here [1 Kings ii. 3.] to Solomon my son, a perfect heart, that he may keep Thy commandments," that they might rule his Son. Well then "Thy judgments."

But is not all "justice and judgment" God's? Yes, out of doubt; in general "justice and judgment" are from Him. Therefore it is a great advantage to people in any kingdom, even among infidels, to have the kingdom administered by "justice and judgment." But yet to make a kingdom perfect and entire, to have the "judgment" God's, and the kingdom firm, then there must these grains be put into the balance.

First, it must be "justice," not only given, but guided all along by God and grace. If this be not, "judgment" cannot remain firm in any man, or any King. Now as it holds, it works; for work it cannot beyond the strength it

SERMON VII.

hath; therefore if God's Spirit assist it not, it may faint and fail just there and then, when on the sudden it may shake a kingdom.

Secondly, it must be "judgment" that is alway God's; and it must distribute rewards and punishments, as God commands. If "justice and judgment" roll this eye aside, though it may continue for aught may appear to others, and themselves, yet they begin to look squint, and in part leave God. Therefore if any pretented cunning way of "justice and judgment," so called, shall debase and sink the honour of God, and the sincerity of religion; if any municipal law be made in any kingdom to strengthen such designs as are injurious to God, and His worship, there must, there will, come a failing upon all such kingdoms, wheresoever they are; and then it will appear, though perhaps too late, that the "judgments" of their King were not God's judgments.

[pretended, 1651.]

Thirdly, it must be "judgment" that, as much as human infirmity can bear, must be free from taint, both within and without; within, at the heart of the King, and his judges under him; and without, from all possession in the ear, and from all corruption in the hand. If this be not, Justice, which should only be blind to see no persons, becomes so blind, that it can see no truth: and justice that is so blind cannot be God's. Therefore if the "justice and judgment" of a kingdom cut up its own foundation, can any man think it can build safely and wisely upon it for the State? It cannot be.

And this "Thine" in the text, for I must hasten, "Thy judgments," it is so full a circumstance, I cannot leave it yet. For by it you may see how necessary it was then for David, and how requisite it is now, for all Kings to pray to God, and to Him alone, for "judgment;" for no King can master the sceptre well, but by "justice and judgment." And you see it cannot be done by any kind of judgment neither; but that that is "God's judgment" in the upright integrity of it: and then who can give "God's judgments," but God Himself? who is as He is called "the God, and the God of judgment;" surely none can have it but He in perfection, nor can give it to others, to make them perfect, but He.

[Isa. xxx. 18.]

Therefore Saint Austin [t] asks the question, but merely in scorn. What! is it come to that? dost thou think that thou canst give "justice and judgment" to thyself? No, thou canst not, for no man can give himself that that he hath not; and that that he hath already, he needs not. This our prophet tells us plainly. For though the "King love judgment," yet it is "God that prepares equity and righteousness in Jacob:" "O blessed are all they that wait for Him." For if they wait He will give, and that no less than "judgment," "His judgments to the King."

[Ps. xcix. 4.]

[Isa. xxx. 18.]

One circumstance behind yet is, that the words are properly a prayer in the most native sense of prayer. Not a thanksgiving only, that God had given him His judgments: for though God had given David His judgments, and he was thankful for such a gift as this, yet thinks here is not his proper work, but humiliation, and supplication.

And it is an excellent thing to see a King at his prayers: for then you see two Kings at once; a greater and a lesser King, God and the King. And though we cannot see God as we see the King, yet when we see Majesty humbled, and in the posture of a supplicant, we cannot in a sort but see that infinite, unspeakable Majesty of that God, whom even Kings adore, and are made far greater by their humblest adoration. For when, I pray you, was Solomon the Son of this King at his greatest glory? Surely, you shall find him at his greatest, then immediately upon the finishing of the Temple. And how do you find Solomon there? Just at his father's work: he was there at his prayers upon his knees, saith the text,—upon his knees: whereas now many mean, unworthy men are loth to bow their knees, or stoop in prayer to God.

[things, 1651.]

[1 Kings viii. 54.]

Now this prayer was a prayer indeed; for prayer is apt to beg, not to buy. He that pleads desert, challengeth reward of duty; but he that prayeth relies upon the mercy and goodness of the Giver. And this is the way that David comes to God, both for himself, and for his Son.

[t] ["Pax erit plane illa perfecta, quando novissima inimica destruetur mors. Et in quo erit hoc, nisi in pacifico Illo reconciliatore nostro? Sicut enim in Adam omnes moriuntur, sic et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur. Ergo invenimus verum Salomonem, hoc est, verum pacificum." —S. Augustin. Enarrat. in Ps. lxxi. sect. 1, tom. iv. p. 743. Ed. Benedict.]

SERMON VII.

And I pray mark it; David here, the great example of a praying King, he saith not, *retribue Domine*, Lord, repay me for the pains of my government; for my service of the people, or for my worship to Thyself: there is none of this; but, *Da Domine*, "Give, Lord," that Thou art able to do by Thy power, that Thou art ready to do by Thy goodness. O Lord, let not mine or my people's unworthiness hinder that: let not their murmuring and disobedience be heard so far as to Thee; but, Lord, give the King "Thy judgments," and then I will execute them to Thine honour, and their good. This was David's way, and it was prevalent.

And out of question, be he King or subject, he that asks no more at God's hands than either of both, asks and shall have too little. But God gives much to humble suitors, "judgments," and "His judgments." And neither the prophet did ask, nor God did give, the earnest and pledge of this judgment only, but "judgment itself," to the King. And certainly the King had need to pray thus; and so had the people as great need as the King; for if this prayer be not made, what assurance have you that God will give? and if God will not give, the King cannot have; and if the King cannot receive "justice and judgment," he cannot distribute
[Ver. 2.] it to the people. And if judgment be not distributed to the
[Ver. 3.] people, there will be no peace. And where the people do not receive judgment from the King, and peace from themselves, what are they? Nothing but a heap of most infirm and miserable creatures; which you can never be as long as God gives "His judgments to the King, and His righteousness to the King's Son." I have now done with the first general part of the text; and it is time to descend from "the King" to "his Son," the second part of the father's prayer. "And Thy righteousness to the King's Son, give, Lord."

Where, first, though it be not expressed in the text, it may easily be conceived, that such a King as David prayed for a Son before he prayed for righteousness to be given him: and though David had divers sons before, yet, in some respect or other, they were all to David as no sons; therefore there is no question to be made, but he prayed for him. Aye, and therefore too, when God had given him Solomon, he

calls him not bare his Son, but his "only Son." And no marvel, since he was that Son that God Himself appointed to succeed in the kingdom for David; and such a Son is alway worth praying for. [1 Chron. xxix. 1.]

Well, but what then? when God had given David Solomon; when God hath given any other King a Son, as he hath given our gracious King—God's name be ever blessed—what then, is the King's prayers then, or the people's, at an end? [1 Chron. xxviii. 5, 6.]

No, nothing less; nay, there is more need a great deal, both for the King and for the people, to go on in their prayers, as David did; that the same God that hath given "His judgments to the King," will proceed and "give His righteousness to the King's Son." For it is a greater blessing to the King, when God gives "His righteousness to his Son," than when he gives him a son. For if Solomon succeed not David in his love to the Temple, as well as the throne; if he inherit not the truth of his father's religion, as well as the right of his crown; if he follow not his father's devotion, and pray for "justice and judgment" to be given him, as well as other temporary blessings; the very blessings of the son would end in bitterness, and be the discomfort and dishonour of the father.

But it is the "wise and prudent son" that is the father's crown, and the mother's joy, And then the blessing of a son is a blessing indeed. David saw this, therefore he continued his prayers. And it is more than fit for other Kings to do so too: "Thy judgments, Lord, give the King, and Thy righteousness to the King's Son." [Prov. x. 1.]

And for the people, they have great need, not only to say Amen to the prayers of the King; but to repeat the prayer, and with ferveney to drive it in at the ears of God, that so their children after them may be as happy under the Son as they themselves were under the father, while God gives both the father and the son zeal to His truth, and judgment over His people.

And here I should take occasion to tell you of the care and devotion of our David in his days, and of his prayers, both for himself and his Son; but that the age is so bad, that they will not believe that he is so good beyond them.

SERMON VII.

And some, for they are but some, are so waspishly set to sting, that nothing can please their ears, unless it sharpen their edge against authority.

But take heed: for if this fault be not amended, justice may seize upon them that are guilty, God knows how soon: and the King's "judgment" that God hath given him, may pull out their stings, that can employ their tongues in nothing but to wound him and his government.

Well, these must not divert me, or any good subject, from praying for the King, and the King's Son. The King's son! blessed name, what imports then to a King? surely David knew well: therefore you see he leaps, for joy, into this prayer in the first words of the psalm. Some tell me this name imports at large, the King, and his posterity, sons or daughters, not distinct. And I confess the least is God's great blessing upon a people. For the wise historian tells us, that *Plena*,[u] &c. The King's house full of them, is the King's security; and the kingdom's too; and our prophet proclaims as much, for he proclaims him "blessed that hath his quiver full of them; he shall not be ashamed when he meets his enemy in the gate." But when I find it *Filio Regis*, "the King's Son," I think David made a difference, and had a special eye upon Solomon, that God had given him to succeed after him. Well, then, be it to "the King's Son."

[Ps. cxxvii. 6.]

[1 Chron. xxviii. 6.]

Why? But then is it but to one? Out of doubt, where there is but one, there can be no question: but when there are more sons than one, as David had, and other Kings may have, there "the King's Son" in the text stands for that Son, that, in the course of the kingdom, is to inherit, and to be King after him.

Not that prayer is not necessary, or not to be made for God's blessings upon them all; but because in the course of time the stern is to be held by that hand, therefore the prayer is most necessary, to fill that hand with "justice and judgment," of "the King's Son," and to season "the King's Son" with "justice and judgment."

So, then, "the Son" in the text was Solomon, not born

[u] ["House and riches are the inheritance of fathers."—Prov. xix. 14.]

first, for he had other brethren living; but designed by God, and by David himself, to be King after him: designed by David, therefore he had great reason to pray; designed by God, therefore David had reason to hope that God would give him a spirit of government. And it was so; for God gave him plenty of wisdom, and store of justice. [1 Kings iii. 12.]

The Son with which God hath blessed our King, and us, as [is] *natus hæres*, born heir; and I hope designed and marked out by God for long life, and happiness; in all things like Solomon, God make him, saving in those things in which Solomon fell from these prayers of his father.

Now as it was to David, so it is to any King, a great happiness to have a son to pray for. For, first, there is scarce such another exercise of a King's piety, as to pray for his son. Secondly, there is scarcely such another motive to make the King careful of his son's education, as this prayer is. For the more David prayed to God, for God's "justice and judgment" to descend upon "his Son," the more he seemed to see what a want it was for the son of a King to want "justice and judgment," and the more he sees what this want is, the more undoubtedly must he endeavour by prayer to God, and his own endeavour, to look to it, for the virtuous education of his son. For it is impossible almost, that he that prays to God to give, should not also endeavour that it may be given. For when we ourselves pray for anything, that prayer, if it be such as it ought, sets an edge on our endeavours: because in a manner it assures us, that God will give what we ask, if we endeavour by God's grace as we ask.

And for our own particular, I doubt not but we shall see God's grace plentifully given to "the King's Son," after his pious father's careful successful endeavour in his education. That his heart may be full of "justice," and his hand of "judgment," against the time come that the judiciary power must descend upon him.

And if you mark it here, the blessing that David desires for "the King's Son," is the very selfsame that he asks for himself, "righteousness," that is, "justice and judgment." And there is great reason for it: for this virtue is as necessary for "the Son" as for the father. The same crown

SERMON VII.

being to be worn by both; the same sceptre to be wielded by both; the same people to be governed by both; the same laws to be maintained by both: therefore the same virtue is necessary for both.

And the copulative in the text, "and Thy righteousness for the King's Son," joins David and Solomon, the father and the son, in one prayer for one blessing.

And this example of David's prayer is a great leading case for Kings; for this holy and pious King David, this King full of experience what the greatest want of a King might be; he doth not ask at God's hand for his Son long life, an enlarged kingdom, heaps of wealth, though that be very necessary, but the grace of "judgment," and "righteousness," that so he may be able to go through with the office of a King,—that is David's prayer. And other blessings come within the *adjicientur*, they shall be cast into the lap of the King, if he "first seek the kingdom of God" in the administration of "justice and judgment" to the people. For Kings are ordained of God for the good of the people. And this David understood well: for himself acknowledgeth it, that God therefore made him King, that he might feed "Jacob His people, and Israel His inheritance:" that he might feed them: and as David knew this, so he practised it too; "for he fed them with a faithful and prudent heart, and governed them wisely with all his power."

[Matt. vi. 33.]

[Ps. lxxviii. 72.]

[ibid. 73.]

And even with this goes along the prayer of the Church for the King, that he may ever, and first, "seek God's honour and glory;" and then "study to preserve the people committed to his charge," to preserve them, which cannot possibly be without "justice and judgment." For, as Saint Austin[x] proves at large, there is no bond of unity or concord that can be firm without it.

And I will not tell you, but Solomon may, what a King is, that hath not the grace of justice. But, however, the more

[Prov. xvi. 12.]

[x] ["*Suscipiant montes pacem populo, et colles justitiam.* . . . . An forte nihil interesset, etiam si ita diceretur, Suscipiant montes justitiam populo, et colles pacem? Utrisque enim justitia, et utrisque pax necessaria est: et fieri potest, ut alio nomine pax appellata sit ipsa justitia. Hæc est enim vera pax, non qualem injusti inter se faciunt. An potius cum distinctione non contemnenda intelligendum est, quod ait, *Montes pacem et colles justitiam?* Excellentes quippe in Ecclesia, paci debent vigilanti intentione consulere; ne propter suos honores superbe agendo schis-

are you bound to God Almighty, that hath given you a King so full of "justice and judgment," as you have found him to be.

And it is worthy our consideration too, how David and Solomon agree in their prayers; and what a "King's Son" may learn, when he is exampled by such a father. For we find when Solomon came to years, and wore the crown, he fell to prayer too: and his prayer was built upon the same foundation. The prayer of David, and Solomon the Son, meet at once. For David did not simply pray for wisdom; but for that wisdom that might enable him to govern the people. And indeed all the wisdom of a King, especially to direct "justice and judgment," is the very ready way to all kingly wisdom. Therefore David's prayer went up first for "justice:" because without that there is no wisdom.

There may be wiliness, if you will, to resemble wisdom: but there was never any wise King that was not just. And that policy will be found weak in the end, that persuades any King against "justice and judgment."

And as before, it was not "judgment" alone that David desired for himself, but it must be *Tuam*, "Thy judgments:" so righteousness alone doth not content him for his Son, but it must be *Tuam* too, "Thy righteousness."

And indeed moral justice alone cannot possibly be enough for a Christian King. Religious and pious "justice" must come in too. He must take care for the souls, as well as for the bodies and goods, of his people. Therefore one of the Church's prayers is, that the King may "study to preserve the people," not "in wealth" only, and "in peace," but "in godliness" too. He must so give the people their own, that is, justice, as that he command the people to give God His own, that is, justice with religion. And there is no King, nor no "King's Son," can possibly do this, unless God give them the spirit of "judgment and justice." God must first give it the King, before the King give it the people.

[body, 1645.]

And it is, "give, Lord:" for as moral justice only will not serve, so neither will theological, but only *qua datur*, as it is

[*quæ dat*, 1645.]

mata faciant, unitatis compage disrupta. Colles autem ita eos imitando et obediendo subsequantur, ut eis Christum anteponant: ne malorum montium, quoniam videntur excellere, vana auctoritate seducti, se a Christi unitate disrumpant." — S. Augustin. Enarr. in Ps. lxxi. sect. 5, tom. iv. p. 745. Ed. Benedict.]

SERMON VII.

given. For as it is *acquisita,* as it is learned by study, be it by study or practice, so it is speculative, or operative by rule, that is the most; but as it is given, so it is at the heart; and so the King is not only active by rule, but it makes "the King," and "the King's Son," to be in love, and to joy in the judgment that they are to put in execution. Then the King is fitted indeed for government, when there is the love [Ps. li. 6.] of justice "and truth in the inward parts." For then they cannot but practise what they love, aye, and then that justice which is within at the heart is *vere Tua,* truly God's righteousness: and for this "justice and judgment," I shall therefore continue David's prayer, and go on: "Give, Lord, Thy judgment to the King, and Thy righteousness to the King's Son." For if God do not give, it is not possible for "justice and judgment" any other way to descend into the heart of "the King," and "the King's Son." None but God can see to drop "justice and judgment" into the deep heart of the King; none but only *Pater luminum,* the Father of Lights, that stand[s] over, and sees how to do it.

And yet I must tell you here, that while he prays for God's "justice and judgment" for himself, and his Son, it must be understood with a great deal of difference, and that in two respects.

First, because God's "judgment," as it is in God, is substantial. It is so in God, as it is His essence Himself. This way no King is capable of God's "justice," because it is His essence. But "justice," as it is given to the King, is a quality, an accident; and that is separable, if God either leave to give, or desist from preserving that that He hath given. Therefore King's have great need to pray for this "justice," because they can neither have it, nor keep it, without Him.

Secondly, because "justice," as it is in God, is *lumen,* all light; so bright, that even impious men themselves cannot but acknowledge it, even when they are condemned by it; so clear, that no entangled cause can cloud it, no corner sin can avoid it. And this way, again, no King is capable of God's light, because that is a thing incommunicable as His substance, as essential as He. But "justice," as it is given to a King, is but *lucerna,* but a candle-light, an imparted

light; a light that is kindled, and set up in a material substance, and so darkened with dregs; yet even this light Kings must pray for: and it is but need they should; for if God give not even this light, it is impossible the King should see how to do "justice," or that he should discern how to execute those judgments that God hath given him.

Therefore the lighting up of this candle in the heart of the King, the light of "justice and judgment," is a marvellous blessing, and God Himself accounts it so, and it appears,—

First, because among the many threatenings that He thunders out against rebellious people, this is one, that He will take from them "the light of the candle," He will not leave them so much light: and it was so: for God's judgment departed away from the King, the King lost the kingdom, and the people were led away in darkness to captivity. So you may see what it is to want the light of "judgment" in a King. [Jer. xxv. 10.]

Secondly, it appears to be great by the promises of God: for among the many professions that He makes to this glorious King David, this was one, that He had "ordained a light for him." So then you see by the presence of this light, what the benefit is to have it. But then still Kings themselves, and the people, must remember, it is but *lucerna*, but a candle lighted at that great light, the lamp of God; and being but a candle-light, it is easily blown out, if God keep not His light about the King to renew it; and if God provide not a fence for this light of justice against the winds of temptation that bluster about it. Therefore our old English translation reads that place in the psalm happily, "I have provided," saith that translation, "not only a light, but a lanthorn for Mine anointed," to carry this light. And this improves the blessing a great deal further: for there is no carrying of this light without the lanthorn of God's own ordaining: the temptations that beset the King are so many, and so strong, that except this lanthorn defend the light, all the light of "justice and judgment" will out. And this lanthorn is so hard to make, that God Himself must ordain it, or else the King cannot have it: for who can [Ps. cxxxii. 18.] [ibid. P. B. V.]

SERMON VII.

fence, and keep in, God's blessings, but Himself? Therefore David here went very right in his prayer, marvellous right, both for himself, and for his Son: *da Domine,* give, Lord, not the light of Thy "judgment and justice" only; but give the "lanthorn too for Thine anointed," that he may be able with honour to carry through this light of "justice and judgment" before his people.

And let me tell you one thing more, that *Filius Regis,* the "King's Son" here, is not only a fit object of his father's prayers, but of yours too, for the people's prayers, as well as the King's: for *filius regis* is *filius regni* too, the Son of the King is the Son of the kingdom; his father's Son by nature, but the kingdom's Son by right; all the subjects have equal interest in the "justice and judgment" of "the King's Son." Therefore while David prays, pray you also, that God would give "His judgments to the King, and His righteousness to the King's Son."

Aye, and wherever there is want for a "King's Son" to succeed, and inherit his father, surely it is a mark that God is somewhat angry with a people: for if God do not sometime divert the judgments, and sometime lessen them, when there is not a son to succeed, that judgment usually is a forerunner of sorrows; of sorrows sometimes that men can neither see, nor prevent. I know they may easily foresee that troubles may follow us, but of what kind they shall be, to what greatness they shall increase, how long they shall continue, what trembling they may make at the very foundation of a State, whether it will please God to give them an issue, or not an issue, I suppose none can tell but God Himself.

Therefore still let the prayer be expressed in what person it will, let it be made by the King, or by the people, or by both; all shall go well, so we pray, and give thanks heartily for the King, and "the King's Son." I must break off the rest.

Thus you have seen David praying for himself and his Son. That it is an excellent thing to find a King at his prayers: that his prayers cannot better begin than for himself, nor better proceed than for his Son; nor be piously made to any but God; nor for a more necessary kingly

virtue than "justice and judgment;" nor with more wisdom than for the joining of God's "judgment" to moral "justice:" for that will ever be the settling of the King's throne, and the honour and safety of the King himself.

This day is the day of the King's crowning; many years may it sit fast on his head, and crown all his days through with "justice and judgment!" And this solemnity in observing with prayer and devotion to God the initial days of the crowns of Kings, is old as well as any other: for Tertullian[y] tells us that it was a practice long before his time. Aye, and even they which serve no true God, infidels themselves, were upon such days as this at their vows and prayers to such gods as they had, for the happiness and safety of their princes; and I hope we shall never fall short of infidels in our prayers to God, for the security and happiness of the King; but we shall take up the prayer here, as David begins it; "Give Thy judgments to the King, O God, and Thy righteousness to the King's Son." And it is the best solemnity of this day to pray for the King.

[fast, *om.* 1651.]

This is the day of the King's crowning; and yet as I have not already, so neither shall I now, break out into any large panegyrics, and praises,—no, not of a gracious King. But I come hither to preach a kind of gospel to you, even glad tidings, that God in the mercies of Christ, whose the Gospel is, hath given you a wise, and just, and religious King; a King whom God hath enabled to wind up all his other virtues in patience within himself, and clemency towards his people. A King made by God, for so I hope, not only to bear,—for that he hath done enough already,—but to master, the great difficulties of his time at home and abroad; that so his people may not only be, but may live and flourish, in peace and plenty.

This is the day of the King's crowning; and though not just upon this day, yet within the compass of this year God hath crowned him again with a son, a crown far more precious than the gold of Ophir. For since children are in

[y] ["... De Romanis, id est, de non Christianis; atque adeo omnes illi sub ipsa usque impietatis eruptione, et sacra faciebant pro salute imperatoris, et genium ejus dejerabant, alii foris, alii intus, &c." — Tertullian. Apologet. c. 35, et passim, p. 29. Ed. Rigalt.]

SERMON VII.

nature the crown of their parents' rejoicing, what joy must this needs be, both to the King, and to the people, who have an interest, though not alike, in "the King's Son!" In "the King's Son," and he a son given by God after some years' expectation; and he a son given after so great a loss of a son in the former year;[z] and he a son after so many fears that this blessing could not, or not so soon, come upon us! So here are two great blessings that God hath given you at once, "the King," and "the King's Son;" the tree, and the fruit: "the King," to be a blessing to you; and "the King's Son," to be a blessing for your children after you.

And besides all other blessings that are to come, here is a double blessing rising with this Son; for it dispels the mists

[z] [The first child born to King Charles, was "Maii 13, 1629, Wednesday. This morning, about three of the clock, the Queen was delivered before her time of a son. He was christened and died within short space, his name Charles. This was Ascension Eve. The next day being "Maii 14. Ascension Day,—*paulo ante mediam noctem.* I buried him at Westminster. If God repair not this loss, I much fear it was Descension Day to this State. . . ."

Charles II. was born "Maii 29, 1630, at St. James's—*paulo ante horam primam post meridiem:* I was in the house three hours before, and had the honour and the happiness to see the Prince, before he was full one hour old."—(Laud's Diary.)

Prince Charles was baptized by Laud, "my Lord's Grace of Canterbury being infirm," (Laud's Diary,) "or otherwise of no desirable company." (Heylyn, p. 198.) From the birth of Prince Charles may be dated much of the organized and systematic political agitation against the King. Even during the reign of James, the Queen of Bohemia, and the foreign Protestant interest, was played by the Puritans against the English government and succession. "The birth of Prince Charles, as it gave cause of great rejoicing to all good subjects, so it gave no small matter of discouragement to the Puritan faction, who had laid their line another way, and desired not that this King should have had any children; insomuch, that at a feast in Friday Street, when some of the company shewed great joy at the news of the Queen's first being with child, a leading man of that faction, whom I could name were it worth the while, did not stick to say, That he could see no such cause of joy as the others did. Which said, he gave this reason for it, That God had already better provided for us than we had deserved, in giving such a hopeful progeny to the Queen of Bohemia, brought up in the Reformed Religion; whereas it was uncertain what religion the King's children would follow, being to be brought up under a mother so devoted to the Church of Rome."—(Heylyn, p. 198.) And it was one of the "innovations" charged against Laud, "that the Lady Elizabeth, and her princely children, are dashed [that's their phrase] out of the new collect, whereas they were in the collect of the former book;" to which the Archbishop replied in his Speech at the Censure of Bastwick, &c. ". . . . Secondly, I beseech your Lordships to consider, what must be the consequence here: The Queen of Bohemia, and her children, are left out of the collect, therefore the prelates intend to bring in popery; for that, you know, they say, is the end of all these innovations. Now, if this be the end and the consequence, truly the libellers have done very dutifully to the king, to poison his people with this conceit, —that the Lady Elizabeth, and her children, would keep popery out of this kingdom, but the king and his children will not. . . ."]

of your fears, and promiseth an influence to them that shall come after. And let me put you in mind of it; for it is most true, whether you will believe it or no; there are no subjects in any State—I speak what I know—whatsoever, Christian, or other, that live in that plenty, at that ease, with those liberties and immunities that you do. There is no nation under heaven so happy, if it did but know and understand its own happiness. To these, nay, far above all these, you have religion as free as may be. And all this you have maintained to you by the "justice and judgment" that God hath given the King for your good.

Take heed,—I beseech you, take heed,—what return you make to God and the King for these blessings. Let not the sins of the time, murmuring and disobedience, possess any. They are great sins, when they are the least; but they are crying sins when they fly out against such a King as God hath filled with "justice and judgment."

Rather set yourselves to praise God, and to bless His name, and to give Him thanks for His goodness. And pray to Him that He would still preserve "the King," and that His loving-kindness may embrace "the King's Son." That so no cloud, no confused darkness, may be spread over this kingdom; that no cloud arising from your ingratitude to God may obscure the King; nor no eclipse caused by popular lunacy may befall the "King's Son." For in this the King and the "King's Son" are like the sun in the firmament, seldom or never eclipsed but by that moon that receives all her light from them; nor by that, but when it is in the head, or poisoned tail, of that great red dragon,[a] the Devil. [Rev. xii. 1—5.]

"In the multitude of people is the King's honour;" but in the loyalty and love of the people is the King's safety: and in the King's "justice and judgment" is the happiness of his people; and the ready way to make a King joy in "justice and judgment" over his people, is for people to show their loving obedience to the King. And since none of us can tell how or what to do better, let us take up the prayer here, where David leaves it, and proceed to pray as he did—that as God hath given us a King, and to that King [Prov. xiv. 28.]

[a] [The great dragon. 1651.]

SERMON VII.

"justice and judgment," so He will most graciously be pleased to continue these great blessings to him for us;—that the King may still receive comfort, and the people from the King "justice and judgment,"—that these judgments may be many, may be all, which may any way fit the King, or fill the people,—that these judgments may be God's judgments; that is, as near the uprightness of God's judgments as may be, even such as may preserve religion entire, as well as equity. And that God would graciously please, not to look for pay from us, but to give where we cannot merit. That since he hath not only given us "the King," but "the King's Son," He will at last double this blessing upon us, and make the Queen a fruitful mother of more happy children. That to this royal prince He would give many happy days, and a large portion of His mercy, that the King, and his Son, and the joyful mother that bare him, may rest in the midst of God's blessings, both spiritual and temporal, that we may be in the midst of God's blessings and the King's, till "the King's Son" be grown up to continue these blessings to our generations, and transmit them to them. And so, O Lord, give, and continue, and strengthen, and increase, and multiply "Thy judgments to the King, and Thy righteousness to the King's Son;" "Even so, Amen, Lord Jesus," and do it. To Whom, with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, three Persons, but one ever-living God, be ascribed all might, majesty, and dominion, this day, and for ever. Amen.

[Rev. xxii. 10.]

END OF VOL. I.

R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL.

LIBRARY OF ANGLO-CATHOLIC THEOLOGY.

Rules.

1. That the Library consist of scarce and valuable Works, such as those of the Authors in the annexed List, maintaining and inculcating the Doctrines and Discipline of the Anglican branch of the Catholic and Apostolic Church.

2. That each Subscriber pay yearly One Guinea *in advance*, to be due on the first day of each year, which shall entitle him to a copy of each Book at one half the publication price; or Two Guineas, which shall entitle him to all Publications, free of cost.

3. That all Subscriptions be considered due for the ensuing year, unless notice shall have been given by letter to the Secretary, before the first day of January, of the Subscriber's intention to withdraw his name.

4. That the whole management of the Fund subscribed be entrusted to a Committee, consisting of not less than twelve nor more than twenty-four Subscribers, who shall fill up all vacancies that may occur in their own body.

5. That no alteration of any kind be made in the original Text of any of the Works re-published.

6. That no Subscriber be entitled to any Book, until his Subscription be paid.

It is proposed to publish in each year Six Volumes, (of 400 pages on the average).

Persons wishing to become Subscribers are requested to send their own names and those of their Booksellers to the Secretary, C. Crawley, Esq., under cover to the Publisher, Mr. Parker, Bookseller, Oxford.

Subscriptions received by the Treasurer, or on his account by Mr. J. H. Parker, or by Messrs. Parsons, Thompson, and Co., Oxford; Messrs. Rivington, St. Paul's Church Yard, and Waterloo Place; Mr. Burns, 17, Portman Street, Portman Square; and Messrs. Coutts and Co., Strand, London: Messrs. Deighton, Messrs. Macmillan, and Messrs. Mortlocks and Co., Cambridge: and Messrs. Grant and Bolton, Dublin.

LIST OF AUTHORS.

Bishop Andrewes.
Archbishop Bancroft.
Bishop Beveridge.
Archbishop Bramhall.
Brett, Thomas.
Brevint.
Brown, Thomas.
Bishop Buckeridge.
Bishop Bull.
Burscough.
Cave.
Bishop Cosin.
Dodwell, H.
Farindon, A.
Bishop Ferne.
Bishop Gunning.
Bishop Hall.
Hammond.
Heylin.
Hickes.
Hyde, Dr. Edward.
Inett.
Johnson, John.
Kettlewell.
Archbishop Laud.
Leslie, Charles.
L'Estrange's Alliance.
Bishop Lloyd.
Marshall's Penl. Disc.
Mason, Fr.
Maurice, H.
Bishop Montague.
Bishop Morton.
Bishop Nicholson (Gloucester)
Bishop Overall.
Bishop Patrick.
Bishop Pearson.
Prideaux on English Ordinations.
Rogers's, John, Vis. Church.
Bishop Sage.
Sall, Dr.
Archbishop Sancroft.
Bishop Sanderson.
Saywell.
Spelman, Sir H.
Scrivener, Matt.
Bishop Stillingfleet.
Bishop Taylor, Jer.
Thorndike.
Walker, William, on Baptism.
Bishop Webb.
Wharton, H.
Bishop White, Fr. (Ely).
Wilkins's Concilia.
Bishop Wilson.

Care will be taken to avoid interfering with the publications of the Oxford University Press.

A Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology.

Volumes published 1841 *to* 1846.

BISHOP ANDREWES' SERMONS, 5 Vols. 2*l.* 16*s.* *Second Edition.*
BP. ANDREWES' Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine. 10*s.*
BISHOP BEVERIDGE'S WORKS. Vol. I. to VIII. 4*l.* 8*s.* *Second Edition.*
ARCHBISHOP BRAMHALL'S WORKS. 5 vols. 3*l.* 3*s.*
BISHOP BULL'S HARMONY OF THE APOSTLES ST. PAUL AND ST. JAMES ON JUSTIFICATION, 2 Vols. 18*s.*
BISHOP COSIN'S WORKS. Vols. I. and II. 1*l.* 1*s.*
BISHOP GUNNING on the Paschal, or Lent Fast. 9s.
MARSHALL'S Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church. 6*s.*
BISHOP NICHOLSON ON THE CATECHISM. 6*s.* *Second Edition.*
BISHOP OVERALL'S CONVOCATION BOOK. 8vo. 8*s.*
THORNDIKE'S WORKS. Vols. I. and II., 4 Parts. 2*l.*
L'ESTRANGE'S ALLIANCE OF DIVINE OFFICES. 12*s.*
HAMMOND'S PRACTICAL CATECHISM. 10s. 6d.
JOHN JOHNSON'S WORKS. Vol. I. 12s.

Volumes in preparation for 1847.

CRAKANTHORP, DEFENSIO ECCLESIÆ ANGLICANÆ. Ed. Chr. Wordsworth, D.D. *Nearly ready.*
BISHOP BEVERIDGE'S WORKS. Vol. IX. *Nearly ready.*
BISHOP WILSON'S WORKS. Ed. Rev. J. Keble, M.A. Vol. I. *Nearly ready.*
———————————— Vol. II.
HICKES'S TWO TREATISES. Vol. II. *In the Press.*
JOHN JOHNSON'S WORKS. Vol. II. *In the Press.*

The following Volumes (*being the two remaining due for* 1846,) *are now ready, viz.* :—

ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S WORKS. Vol. I.
HICKES'S TWO TREATISES, On the Christian Priesthood, and On the Dignity of the Episcopal Order. Vol. I.

Subscribers who have not received their copies are requested to apply to the publisher in order that they may be forwarded.

Subscribers paying two guineas annually *in advance* are entitled to all the publications without further payment. It is proposed to publish six volumes (of 400 pages on the average) for each year.

Persons wishing to become Subscribers are requested to send their names, and those of their booksellers, to the Secretary and Treasurer, CHARLES CRAWLEY, Esq., under cover, to the Publisher, Mr. PARKER, Bookseller, Oxford.

*** New Subscribers can exchange volumes to complete sets.

Committee.

Rev. R. S. Barter, D.C.L. Warden of Winchester College.
Ven. Edw. Churton, M.A. Archdeacon of Cleveland.
Rev. W. J. Copeland, M.A. Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford.
Rev. William Gresley, M.A. Prebendary of Lichfield.
Rev. W. F. Hook, D.D. Vicar of Leeds.
Rev. R. W. Jelf, D.D. Canon of Christ Church.
Rev. John Keble, M.A. Vicar of Hursley.
Ven. Henry Manning, M.A. Archdeacon of Chichester.
Rev. W. H. Mill, D.D. Christian Advocate, Cambridge; Chaplain to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.
Rev. G. Moberly, D.C.L. Head Master of Winchester School.
Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D. Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church.
Ven. Robert I. Wilberforce, M.A. Archdeacon of the West Riding of Yorkshire.
Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, D.D. Prebendary of Westminster

Superintending Editor—Rev. C. L. Cornish, M.A. late Fellow of Exeter College.

Treasurer and Secretary—Charles Crawley, Esq., Littlemore, near Oxford.

Publisher—Mr. John Henry Parker, Oxford.

The following gentlemen have consented to act as Secretaries in their respective districts.

Cambridge ..	Rev. W. C. Mathison, Fellow of Trinity College.
Bath	Rev. W. Bliss.
Birmingham ..	Rev. T. Nunns.
Exeter	Rev. C. Bartholomew.
Kirkby Lonsdale	Rev. J. H. F. Kendall.
Northampton ..	Rev. T. V. Barlow.
Armagh	Rev. R. Allot.
Limerick ..	Rev. C. Monsell
Cornwall ..	Rev. A. Tatham, Broadoak, Lostwithiel.

SUBSCRIBERS.

Those marked * are Subscribers of £2. 2*s.*, † of £10 10*s.*, ** of £21.

* His Grace the Lord Archbishop of York
* His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Armagh
* Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Winchester
Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells
* Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ripon
** Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. David's
Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lichfield
* Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Oxford
Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia
* Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Calcutta
* Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Madras
** Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of New Zealand
* Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Guiana
* Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Tasmania
* Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Newfoundland
* Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Colombo
* Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Adelaide
* Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Cape of Good Hope
* Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Newcastle
Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of New Jersey

*Aberdeen Diocesan Library
*Abraham, Rev. C. J. Eton College
*Acland, Arthur H. Dyke, Esq. Wollaston House, Dorchester, Dorset
*Acres, Rev. John, Bath
*Adare, Right Hon. Viscount, Dunraven Castle
Adams, Rev. D. Bampton
*Adams, W. D. Esq. Sydenham, Kent
*Adams, Rev. C. C. Anstey, nr. Coventry
*Adamson, Rev. E. Newcastle-upon-Tyne
*Addison, Rev. Berkley, Curate of St. John's, Edinburgh
*Addison, Rev. W. G. H. S. Cam, Dursley, Gloucestershire
*Adcock, Rev. H. H. Humberston, Leicester
*Agnew, Rev. T. R. New College, Oxf.
*Aitkins, Rev. R. E. Hanley, Stafford
*Alcock, Rev. J. P. Rochester Cathedral
*Alderson, Rev. R. Ipswich, Suffolk
*Aldred, J. T. F. Esq. Lincoln Coll. Oxf.
*Alexander, Rev. G. Caledon, Ireland
*Alexander, Rev. John, Northumberland-street, Edinburgh
*Alford, Rev. H. Vicar of Wimeswold, Leicestershire
Allen, Rev. H. Lincoln
*Allen, Rev. J. C. Litchfield Rectory, Andover Road
*Alley, Rev. F. A. Upper Wood, Burton Hale, Castledermot, Ireland
*Allies, Rev. T. W. Launton, Bicester
* Allott, Rev. R. Precentor of Armagh
*Amphlett, Rev. M. Lichfield
*Anderdon, John L. Esq. 22, Tavistock-square
Anderson, Rev. J. S. M. Brighton
*Anson, Rev. G. H. Leeds
*Anson, Rev. T. A. Billingford Rectory, Elmham, Norfolk
*Anstey, Rev. A. Rock House, Milverton, Somerset

*Antrobus, Rev. G. St. John's, Withyham, Tunbridge Wells.
*Antrobus, Miss, 146, Piccadily
*Appleton, Rev. R. Liverpool
*Archer, C. Esq. Exeter Coll. Oxford
*Arden, Rev. G. Powderham
*Armitage, Rev. R.
*Armstrong, Rev. John, Dinder, Wells
*Armstrong, Rev. J. H. Dublin
*Arnold, Rev. T. K. Lyndon, Rutland
*Ashby de la Zouch Theological Library
*Ashworth, Rev. A. H. Mitcham, Surrey
*Ashworth, Rev. J. H. Eastwoodhay, Newbury, Berks
*Ashworth, Rev. I. A. Brasenose Coll., Oxford
Astley, Sir F. D. Everleigh, Wilts
*Atkinson, Rev. G. Stow, Gainsborough
*Atkinson, Rev. M. A. Trinity College, Cambridge
*Atkinson, Rev. Miles, Gloucester
*Atlay, Rev. J. St. John's College, Cambridge
*Audland, Rev. W. F. Queen's College, Oxford
*Austin, Rev. E. Evesham, Worcestershire
*Ayling, Rev. W. Tillington, near Petworth

*Babb, Rev. G.
*Bacon, Rev. R. W. King's Coll. Camb.
Badham, Rev. C.
*Bagge, Rev. P. Burton Agnes, Driffield
*Bagot, G. T. Esq. Ex. Coll. Oxford
*Bagot, Hon. and Rev. H. All Souls College, Oxford
*Baillie, Rev. E. Northfield House, Ryde
*Baker, Rev. T. T. Tovil, Maidstone
*Ball, Rev. T. J. Methwold, Norfolk
*Barclay, Rev. J. Ch. Ch. Oxford
*Barker, Rev. A. A. Stourbridge
*Barker, Rev. C. R.
*Barker, Rev. Ralph, M. A. Collingham, Hull
*Barker, Rev. H. Raymond, Daglingworth, Gloucestershire
**Barker, Rev. F. R. Oriel Coll. Oxford
*Barlow, Rev. T. M. Shrewsbury
* Barlow, Rev. T. W. Little Bowden Northampton
*Barnard, Rev. H. I. Yatton.
*Barnes, Rev. J. W. Kendal, Westmoreland
*Barnwell, C. F. Esq. 44, Woburn Place, Russell-Square
*Barnwell, Rev. E. L. Ruthin
*Barrow, Rev. J. Queen's Coll. Oxford
*Barr, Rev. A. Croydon
*Barter, Rev. Dr. Winchester
*Bartholomew, Rev. C. C. Lympstone Devon
Bartholomew, Rev. J. Morchard, Crediton
*Barwis, W. C. Esq. Pembroke College, Cambridge
*Basevi, N. Esq. Fitzroy Farm, Highgate
*Bates, Joseph C. Esq. Queen's Coll.
*Bathurst, Rev. S. Merton College
*Bathurst, A. Esq. New Coll.
Batten, Rev. H.
Baxter, Rev. Arthur, Hampreston Rectory, Wimborne
Baxter, Rev. R. W. Kingsthorpe
*Bayldon, Rev. J. Thiving, Bridlington
Bayley, Rev. W. H. Ricketts, Harrow-on-the-Hill
*Bayliff, Rev. T. L. Stratford, Essex
*Bayne, Rev. T. V. Broughton, Manchester
*Bazely, Rev. T. T. Rectory, Poplar, London
*Beadon, Rev. H. W. Latton, Cricklade
*Beatty, Rev. J. Convoy, Raphoe
*Beaufort, Rev. D. A. 11, Gloucester-Place, London
*Beaumont, Rev. J. A. St. Mary's, Leeds
*Beck, Rev. James, 1, Great Stanhope-street, Mayfair, London
*Beckett, Rev. H. F. Woodsome Hall, Huddersfield
*Beckwith, Rev. H. W. Monkwearmouth, Sunderland
*Bedford, Rev. Henry, Dunton Bassett, Leicestershire
*Bedford, Rev. F. J. Willesford, Awliscombe
*Belaney, Rev. R.
*Belgrave, Rev. T., North-Kilworth, Leicestershire

Bell, Rev. John, Oulton, near Leeds
*Bell, Rev. T. Exeter College, Oxford
*Bellamy, Rev. Dr.
*Bellas, Rev. S. Aldermarlow, Reading
*Benn, Rev. W. H. Lutterworth
*Bennet, Rev. A. M. South Cadbury, Somerset
*Bennett, Rev. Edward Leigh, Long Sutton, Holbeach, Lincolnshire
*Bennett, Rev. J. Ibstock, Leicestershire
*Bennett, Rev. W. J. E. St. Paul's, Knightsbridge
*Benning, Messrs. & Co., Booksellers, London
*Beresford, Rev. Lord John, Philipstown Rectory, Dundalk, Ireland
*Berners, Rev. R. Erwarton, Ipswich
*Besly, Rev. Dr. Long Benton, Northumberland
*Bethune, Rev. A. N., D.D., Coburgh, Upper Canada
*Bevan, Beckford, Esq. 16, Devonshire-place
*Bevan, James J. Esq. 16, Devonshire Place, London
*Biber, Rev. Dr. Ashburton Lodge, Roehampton
*Bickmore, Rev. C. Berkswell Hall, Merriden, Warwickshire
*Bicknell, Rev. J.
*Biggar, Douglas, Esq. 66, Aldersgate Street, London
*Bigge, Rev. H. J. Staverton, East Haddon, Northampton
*Biggs, Rev. Michael, King's College, London
*Birchinall, Thos. Esq. Macclesfield
Bird, Rev. G. Great Wyborough, Kelverdon, Essex
*Biron, Rev. Edwin, Vicar of Lympne Hythe, Kent
*Biscoe, Rev. F. Turk Dean, Northleach
*Bishop, Rev. W. H. C.C.C. Camb.
*Bissett, Rev. Thomas, 7, Argyll Street, London
*Black, Rev. A. W. York
*Blackburn & Whalley Clerical Society,
*Blacker, Rev. S. Market Hill
*Blakiston, Rev. Robert, Ashington, near Petworth
Blathwayte, Rev. C. Langridge
*Blenkinsopp, Rev. E. L. Ormskirk, Lancashire
*Blew, Rev. W. J. Milton, next Gravesend
*Bliss, Rev. J. Rushall, Pewsey, Wilts
*Bliss, Rev. W. Bath
*Blomfield, Rev. J. C. Romford, Essex
*Bloxam, M. H. Esq. Rugby
*Boissier, Rev. P. E. Malvern, Wells
*Bolland, W. Esq. University College
*Bond, Rev. F. H. Exeter Coll., Oxford
* Boodle, Rev. R. G. Compton Dando, near Bath
* Booker, Rev. John, Vicar of Killurin, Ireland
*Borton, Rev. W. Blofield, Norfolk
Bosanquet, S. Esq. East Woodhay, Newbury, Hants
*Boucher, Rev. A. F. Dilhorne Vicarage, Stone, Staffordshire
*Boulton, Rev. W. the School, Wem, Salop
*Bourke, Rev. S. G. 3, Cavendish Square
*Boutflower, D. Esq. Christ's College, Cambridge
*Bowden, Mrs. Roehampton
*Bowden, T. A. Esq. Magdalene Hall
*Bowdler, Rev. T.
*Bowlby, Rev. H. B. South Shields
*Bowyer, Rev. W. H.
*Box, Rev. H. A. Wadham College
Boyce, Rev. E. J. Vicarage, Godalming
*Boyle, Hon. G. F. Ch. Ch. Oxford
*Bradley, Rev. C. R. M.A. Grantham, Lincolnshire
*Bradshaw, Job, Esq. Secretary to the Englishman's Library, Nottingham
*Braithwaite, Rev. W. Bideford, Devon
*Braithwaite, Rev. F. St. Marylebone, London
*Braithwaite, Rev. G. Easton Rectory, near Winchester
*Bramston, Rev. John, Witham, Essex
*Brandreth, Rev. W. H. Standish
*Brancker, Rev. H. Padgate, Warrington
*Bray, Dr. Associates of, 5 copies
*Bremridge, Rev. J. P. Buckerell, near Honiton, Devon
*Brett, Rev. Mr. Stamford, Lincolnshire
*Brett, Mrs. Newington Green
*Brewin, Rev. George, Wortley, near Sheffield

*Brewster, Rev. W. Hawarden, near Chester
*Bridges, Rev. A B. Beddington
*Bright, Wm. Esq. University College, Oxford
*Brine, Rev. J. G. East Knoyle, Hindon, Wilts
*Briscoe, Rev. T. Jesus Coll. Oxford
Broadley, Rev. A. Bridport, Dorset
**Brodrick, J.R. Esq. M.A. 16 Lowndes Square, London
*Brooks, W. Esq. Trinity
*Brooksbank, Rev. C.
*Browell, Rev. W. Beaumont, Colchester
*Brown, Rev. Felix, Stopham Rectory, Petworth
*Brown, Rev. H. St. James's, Shoreditch, London
*Brown, Rev. John Cave, Pratt Street, Lambeth
*Brown, Rev. J. J. Llandanwg, Harlech, Merionethshire
*Brown, Rev. E. G.
*Brown, Rev. I. L. 4, Blandford-place, Regent's Park
*Brown, Rev. Meredith
Browne, Rev. T. M. Vicar of Standish
*Browne, Rev. John, Rectory, Kirkby Thore, Westmoreland
*Browne, Rev. R. W. King's Coll. London
*Browne, Rev. S. Vicarage, Westbury, Wilts
*Browne, E. G. Esq. St. David's Coll., Lampeter
*Bruce, Rev. H. L. Knight, Abbotsham, Bideford, Devon
Brymer, Ven. Archdeacon, Bath
Bubb, Rev. Henry Bagendon, Cirencester
*Buck, Rev. R. H. Vicar of Launcells, Cornwall
*Buckerfield, Rev. T. H. Little Bedwyn, Wilts
*Buckle, W. H. Esq.
*Buckley, W. E. Esq. Brasenose College, Oxford
*Buckley, Rev. J. Badminton, Gloucestershire
*Buller, Rev. A. Tavistock
*Bulley, Rev. F Magd. Coll. Oxford
*Bullock, Rev. G. M. St. John's Coll. Oxford
*Bullock, W. Esq. Kilburn, Middlesex
*Bumpstead, Rev. J. J. King's College, Cambridge
*Burder, Rev. G.
*Burlton, Rev. F. J. Taunton
*Burnett, J. W. Esq. St. John's Coll. Cambridge
*Burney, E. K. Esq.
*Burney, Rev. C. Sible-Hedingham Halsted, Essex
*Burr, Rev. J. H. Scudamore, Exeter
*Burridge, Rev. F. Luxborough, near Dunster, Somerset
*Burton, Rev. R. C. York Terrace, Peckham
Butler, Rev. D. Clergy Orphan School, St. John's Wood
*Butler, Rev. R. Brasenose College
*Butler, Rev. James, Grammar School, Burnley, Lancashire
*Butler, Rev. W. J. Wantage, Berks
*Butt, Rev. P. J. Hampstead
*Buttefield, Rev. J. Bradford, Yorkshire
*Butterworth, G. Esq. Henbury, near Bristol
*Byrne, Mrs. Henry, Worcester
*Byron, Rev. J. Killingholme, Barton-on-Humber

*Caffin, Rev. C. S. East Peckham Vicarage, Tonbridge
*Calcutta, Bishop's College
*Calley, C. B. Esq. Worcester College, Oxford
*Calvert, Rev. T. Norwich
*Cameron, Rev. Charles
*Cameron, Rev. A. A. Hurst, Reading
Campbell, Rev. C. Weasenham, Rougham, Norfolk
*Campbell, Rev. J. J. Great Tew Vicarage, Enstone, Oxfordshire
*Camden, Viscount, Gainsborough House
*Canham, A. J. Esq. Summer-hill, Tenterden, Kent
*Canterbury Clerical Book Society
*Caparn, Rev. W. B. Wragby, Lincolnshire
*Capper, S. J. Esq. Leyton, Essex
*Carey, Rev. Hewitt

*Carey, Tupper, Esq. Vicar's Close, Wells, Somersetshire
*Carne, J. Esq. Ellinglase House, Truro
*Carpenter, Rev. G.
*Carshove, Rev. Jos. James, Cawnpore, Bengal
Carter, Rev. J. Frenchay, Bristol
*Carter, Rev. T. T. Clewer Rectory, Windsor
*Carter, Rev. W. A. Eton College
*Carter, Rev. W. E. D. Churchill, near Chippingnorton
*Cartwright, Rev. W. H. Dudley
*Case, Rev. T. Horton
*Case, G. Esq. Brasenose College
*Cather, Rev. John, Wrexham
*Cattley, Rev. S. R. Fulham
*Cattley, R. Esq. Worcester College, Oxford
Cavendish, Hon. and Rev. A.
*Cavendish, Hon. R. Belgrave-square
*Cavendish, Hon. C. Burlington Gardens
*Cavendish, C. W. Esq. Rectory, West Deeping, Lincolnshire
*Chaffers, Rev. T. Brasenose College, Oxford
Chamberlain, Rev. T. Ch. Ch. Oxford
*Chambers, Rev. J. C. Emmanuel Coll. Cambridge
*Chambers, J. D. Esq. 7, Connaught Square, London
*Champernowne, H. Esq. Trinity Coll. Oxford
*Champernowne, Rev. R. Ch. Ch., Oxf.
*Champneys, Rev. H. S. Mucklestone, Staffordshire
*Chanter, Rev. J. M. Ilfracombe
**Chapman, Rev. R. Coventry. Presented by a few of the parishioners of St. Michael's
*Cheere, Rev. F. Papworth S. Everard
*Chermside, R. Seymour, Esq. Exeter College, Oxford
*Chesshyre, Rev. I. T. St. Martin's, Canterbury
*Chester, Rev. A. Chichely Hall
*Chester, Harry, Esq. Highgate
*Chichester, Very Rev. the Dean of
Christie, Rev. J. F. Ufton-Nervet, Reading
*Christ's College Library, Cambridge
*Church, Rev. R. W. Oriel Coll. Oxford
*Churton, Ven. E. Archdeacon of Cleveland
*Clark, Rev. Fran. F. Hartshill Parsonage, Newcastle
Clark, Rev. H. D. Exeter Coll. Oxford
*Clark, Rev. John, Grove Villa, Hunslet, Leeds
*Clark, Rev. F. F.
*Clark, Rev. Dr. Professor of Anatomy, Cambridge
*Clarke, Rev. L. S. New Coll., Oxford
*Clarke, Rev. W. H. St. Olave's Priory, Herringfleet, near Lowestoft, Suffolk
*Clarke, S., Esq. St. John's Coll. Oxford
*Clarke, J. Esq. Lanesfield, Evesham
*Clay, Rev. J. G. Teversal, Notts.
*Clayton, Rev. J. H. Farnborough Rectory, Hants
*Cleather, Rev. G. P. Chirton, Devizes
*Clements, Rev. J. Upton St. Leonard's, near Gloucester
Clerical Society, Newcastle-on-Tyne
*Clerical Society of the Deanery of Droxford, Hants
*Clerke, Venerable C. C. Archdeacon of Oxford
*Cleugh, Rev. J. Malta
*Coates, Rev. R. P. 13, Gibraltar Place, Chatham
*Cobbe, Rev. H. Kilmore, Armagh
*Cockin, Rev. M. Norton, Gloucester
*Cocks, Rev. Somers, Shevioch, Cornwall
*Codd, Rev. E. T. Eccleshall, Staffordshire
†Cole, Rev. M. S. Wootton-under-Edge
*Cole, Rev. G. E. Dorchester, Dorset
*Coleridge, Hon. Mr. Justice
*Coleridge, Rev. E. Eton College
*Coleridge, Rev. T. Rector of Allhallows, Exeter
Coles, Rev. G. Croydon
*Coley, Rev. J.
*Collingwood, Miss A. Dissington Hall
*Collins, Rev. R. Maize Hill, Greenwich
Collinson, Rev. R. Holme Cultram
*Collis, Rev. J. D. Worcester Coll. Oxf.
*Colls, Rev. I. F.
*Coltman, Rev. G. Stickney, near Boston
*Columba, The Library of the College of St., Stackallan, Ireland

*Colville, Rev. F. L.
*Compton, Rev. J. Minstead Rectory, Lyndhurst
*Connop, Newell, Esq. Whitehall
*Conway, W. F. Esq. Dublin
*Cooke, Rev. W. East Bergholt, Colchester
Coope, Rev. H. G. Clunn, Shropshire
*Cooper, Rev. E. P. Burford, Oxon.
*Copeland, Rev. W. J. Trinity College, Oxford
*Cornish, Rev. C. L. Littlemore, Oxford
*Cornish, Rev. S. W. D.D. Ottery St. Mary, Devon
* Cornthwaite, Rev. T. Hornsey
* Cotton, Rev. W. C.
*Cotton, Alexander, Esq. Hildersham Hall, Cambridgeshire
*Courtenay, Lord, Powderham Castle
*Courtenay, Rev. F. Exeter
*Cox, Rev. I. Edm. 6, Oliver Terrace, Mile End Road
†Cox, Rev. J. Walgrave, Northampton
*Coxon, Rev. M. Heswell, Cheshire
*Crawley, Ven. Archdeacon, Bryngwyn, Monmouthshire
*Crawley, Rev. R. E. Westbury, Wilts
*Crawley, Rev. H. Heyford, nr. Weldon
Crawley, Rev. C. Stowe, near Weedon
*Crawley, C. Esq. Littlemore, near Oxford
* Crawley, Rev. R. Steeple Ashton, Trowbridge
*Crewkerne Deanery Clerical Society
*Cripps, Rev. J. M. Great Yeldham Rectory, near Halstead, Essex.
Crompton, Rev. B. Unsworth, near Bury, Lancashire
*Croome, Rev. T. B. Rendcomb Rectory, Cirencester
*Crossley, James, Esq. Manchester
*Crossley, Mr. John S. Leicester
*Crosthwaite, Rev. J. C. Rectory, St. Mary at Hill, London
*Cuppage, R. J. Esq., Middleton Hall, Manchester
*Currie, Rev. James, Tittleworth, Petworth, Sussex
*Currie, Rev. H. G.
Cust, Hon. and Rev. H. C. Cockayne Hatley
Dale, Rev. Henry, Lee Park, Blackheath
*Dalton, Rev. C. B. Lincoln s Inn
*Dalton, Rev. W. Kelvedon, Essex
*Dalton, Mr. W. H. Cockspur St.
*Dance, H. A. Esq. Queen's Colleg Oxford
*Dand, Rev. T. Queen's Coll. Oxford
*Daniell, Rev. George Fred. Dennington, near Chichester
*Darby, Rev. J. Curate of Acton, Ireland
*Darling, Mr. Little Queen Street, London
**Darnell, Rev. W. N. Stanhope, Durham
Darnell, Rev. W. Bambrough, Northumberland
*Dartmouth, the Earl of, Sandwell, near Birmingham
*Darton & Co. Messrs. 58, Holborn Hill
*Davenport, Rev. Arthur, Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land
*Davidson, L. Esq. Rutland Square, Edinburgh
*Davie, Rev. George J. Brasted, Kent
*Dawson, Rev. J. Arran Villa, Leamington
*Day, Mr. John, Bookseller, Melton
*Dayman, Rev. A. J. Curate of Wasperton, Warwickshire
*Dayman, Rev. L.
*Deacon, Rev. G. E. Rawmarsh, Rotheram, Yorkshire
*Dean, Rev. E. B. Lewknor, Tetsworth
*Dean, Rev. T. Warton, Lancaster
Deane, J. W. Esq.
*Dearden, Mr. W. Nottingham
Deedes, Rev. Gordon, Netherbury, Dorsetshire
*De Gruchy, Rev. G. 2, Providence Row, Cambridge Heath, Hackney
*Deighton, Messrs. J. & J.J. Cambridge
*Demerara Clerical Library
*Denny, Rev. A. Mauritius
*Denton, Rev. R. A. King's Coll. Camb.
*D'Ewes, A. Esq. Queen's College, Cambridge
*De Porre, Rev. W. Modbury, Devon
*De Sausmarez, Rev. H. Pembroke College, Oxford
*De Vere, Sir Aubrey, Currah Chase

**Dickinson, F. H. Esq. M.P. Upper Harley-street, London
*Diocesan Library, Wells, Somerset
* Disney, Rev. E. O. Armagh, Ireland
*Distin, Rev. H. L. Bythorne, near Thrapstone, Northamptonshire
*Distin, Rev. J. W.
*Dixon, Rev. James D. Knotty Ash, Liverpool
Dixon, Rev. J. J. Abrams, near Manchester
*Dobson, B. Esq. Bolton
*Dolben, Rev. C. Ipsley, Warwickshire
*Donaldson, Rev. J. W. Bury St. Edmund's
*Donne, J.
Dornford, Rev. J. Plymptree, Devon
Douglas, Rev. H. College, Durham
*Douglas, Rev. S. Ashling, Chichester
*Dowding, Rev. W. Grimley, Worcester
*Downe, Rev. G. E. Rushden Rectory, Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire
*Drake, Rev. Richard, Stourmouth, Kent
*Drewe, W. B. Esq. St. Mary Hall
*Driverg, Rev. J. Calcutta
*Drummond, Col. E. Brighton
*Dry, Rev. T. Walthamstow, Essex
*Dudman, Rev. L. S. Charlton
* Duffield, Rev. R. Frating, Colchester
*Dugard, Rev. G. Manchester
*Duncombe, Hon. and Rev. Aug. 24, Arlington Street, London
*Dungannon, Viscount, Brynkinalt, Chirk
*Dunlap, Rev. A. P. St. John's College, Oxford
*Dunraven, the Earl of, Adare, Limerick
*Dunwell, Rev. F. H. Crayke, near York
* Dupuis, Rev. H. Eton College
*Durnford, Rev. Francis, Eton College
*Du Sautoy, Rev. W. S. O. Frome Selwood, Somerset
*Dwarris, Rev. B. E. Durham
*Dyke, Rev. W. Cradley, Malvern
*Dymock, J. B. Esq. St. Mary Hall, Oxford
*Dyne, Rev. J. B. Highgate
*Dyson, Rev. C. Dogmersfield, Hartford Bridge
*Dyson, H. Esq. Tidworth, Andover
*Eamonson, Rev. B. Collingham
*Eaton, W. Esq. Merton Coll. Oxford
Eaton and Son, Worcester
Ebsworth, Rev. Geo. Searle, Ilkeston
*Eddie, Rev. R. Barton on Humber, Lincolnshire
*Ede, Mrs.
*Eden, Rev. R. Legh, Rochford
*Edmondstone, Sir Archibald, Bart. Colzium, Kilsyth, N. B.
*Edouart, Rev. A. G. St. Paul's Church, Blackburn
*Egerton, Rev. T. Dunnington, Yorkshire
*E. H. T.
*Eland, Rev. H. G. Bedminster, Bristol
*Eld, Rev. J. H. 10, East Parade, Leeds
*Elder, Rev. E. Master of the Grammar School, Durham
*Eldridge, Rev. J. A. Bridlington, Yorkshire
*Ellicott, Rev. C. J. St. John's College, Cambridge
*Ellis, Conyngham, Esq. 4, Fitzwilliam Place, Dublin
*Ellison, Rev. H. University Coll. Oxf.
*Elmhirst, Rev. Edward, Shawell, Leicestershire
* Elrington, Rev. H. P. Precentor of Ferns, Ireland
*Elwes, J. M. Esq. Bossington, Stockbridge
*Ensor, Rev. F. 24, Arlington Street, London
*Ethelston, Rev. C. W. Lyme Regis, Dorset
*Evans, Rev. A. B. D.D. Market Bosworth
Evans, Rev. E. C. Ingham
*Evans, Herbert N. Esq. Hampstead
*Evans, Rev. L. Wadham College, Oxford; Hendon, London
Evans, Rev. T. Gloucester
*Evans, Rev. T. Simpson, Shoreditch, London
*Everest, Rev. F. Parsonage, Laneast, Launceston
*Evetts, T. Esq. C. C. C. Oxford
*Ewing, Rev. W. Alburgh, near Harleston, Norfolk
*Eyre, Charles, Esq. Welford Park, Newbury

*Fagan, Rev. G. H.
*Falkner, T. A. Esq. St. John's College, Oxford
*Fallow, Rev. T. M. All Souls, London
*Fanshawe, Rev. F. Exeter College, Oxford
*Farebrother, Rev. T. Aston, Birmingham
*Farley, Rev. T. Ducklington
*Fearon, Rev. W. C. Grimston, Lynn, Norfolk
*Feetham, Rev. T. O. Eggesford, Devon
*Fellowes, Rev. T. L. Cantley Rectory, Acle, Norfolk
*Fenwicke, Rev. G. O. Aston, Birmingham
*Fernley, J. Esq. Manchester
*Few, Mr. Robert, 2, Henrietta Street Covent Garden, London
*Field, Rev. S. P. High Beech, Loughton, Essex
*Field, T. Esq. St. John's College, Cambridge
*Finch, Miss Charlotte
*Fitzgerald, Rev. A. O. Fledborough, near Tuxford
*Flemyng, Rev. W. Redcross, County of Wicklow
*Fletcher, T. W. Esq. F.R.S. Dudley, Worcestershire
*Fletcher, Rev. William, Collegiate School, Southwell
*Fletcher, Rev. W. K. Bombay
*Floyer, Rev. Ayscoghe, Louth, Lincolnshire
*Foley, H. Esq. Worcester
**Forbes, G. H. Esq. Edinburgh
*Forbes, I. S. Esq. 3, Fitzroy Square, London
*Forbes, Right Hon. Lord
*Forbes, Sir John Stuart
*Ford, H. Esq. 21, Tokenhouse Yard, London
*Ford, W. Esq. Milbrook House, Kentish Town
*Forster, Rev. H. B. Coln Rogers Rectory, Northleach
*Fortescue, Rev. H. R. Newton Ferrers, Yealmpton, Devon
*Foster, Rev. John, The Rectory, Foxearth, near Sudbury, Suffolk
*Foster, Rev. J. S. Ilchester
*Foulkes, Rev. E. S. Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford
*Foulkes, Rev. H. P. Buckby Mountain, Flintshire
*Fowler, Rev. C. A. Walliscote House, near Reading
*Fox, Rev. C. J. Cranham Lodge, near Upminster, Essex
*Foxe, Rev. O. Worcester
*France, Rev. G. 88, Cadogan-place
*Francis, Rev. J. 50, Great Ormond-street, London
*Fraser, Rev. R. Stedmarsh, Canterbury
*Freeland, J. B. Esq. Chichester,
*Freeman, Rev. H. Folksworth, near Stilton
*Freeth, Rev. Frederic Harvey, 80, Coleshill Street, Eaton-sq., London
*Frome Clerical Library
*Frost, Rev. I. L. Bradford
Frost, Rev. R. M. Lewes, Sussex
*Frost, Rev. P. St. John's Coll. Camb.
*Froude, W. Esq. Collumpton, Devon
Fulford, Rev. F. Trowbridge
Fyler, Rev. S. Cornhill, Durham

*Gace, Rev. F. A.
*Galton, Rev. John L. Leamington
*Gardiner, Rev. W. Rochford
*Garvey, Rev. Richard, Wakefield
*Gibbings, Rev. R. Myragh Glebe, Dunfanaghy, co. Donegal
*Gibbons, Sir John, Balliol Coll. Oxf.
*Gibbs, G. Esq. Belmont, near Bristol
*Gibbs, H. Esq. Bedford Sq. London
*Gibbs, W. Esq. 13, Hyde-Park Street, London
*Gibson, Rev. J. Bedlington, Northumberland
*Gibson, Rev. W. Rectory, Fawley
*Gibson, J. Esq. Jesus College, Cambridge
*Gibson, Rev. Edward, Allesley, near Coventry
*Gidley, J. Esq. Exeter
*Giffard, Rev. W. Weybridge Rectory, Esher, Surrey
Gilbertson, Rev. Lewis, Llangorwen, near Aberystwith
*Gildea, Rev. George Robert, Newport, county of Mayo

**Gillett, Rev. G. E. Waltham, Melton Mowbray
*Gillett, E. Markshall, near Norwich
Gladstone, Rev. John, Liverpool
*Gladstone, Right Hon. W. E. M.P.
*Glaister, Rev. W. Beckley Rectory, Sussex
*Glencross, Rev. J. Balliol College, Oxford
*Godfray, Rev. Frederick, St. Helier's, Jersey
*Gooch, Rev. I. H. Head Master of Heath School, Halifax
*Gooch, Rev. John, Second Master of the Grammar School, Wolverhampton
*Goodchild, Rev. C. W., A.M., Free-Grammar School, Sutton Valence, Kent
*Goodford, C. O. Esq. Eton
*Goodlake, Rev. T. W. Manor House, Swindon
Goodwin, Rev. H. G. Caius College, Cambridge
*Gordon, Rev. H. Colwich, near Rugeley
*Gordon, Rev. O. Ch. Ch. Oxford
*Gore, Hon. and Rev. A. H. Withcall, Lincolnshire
*Gore, Rev. H. J. Horsham
*Gough. Rev. H. Carlisle
*Gough, Rev. B. Londonderry
Goulburn, H. Esq.
*Gould, Rev. Edward, Sproughton, Ipswich
*Gower, Rev. S. Wandsworth, Surrey
*Gray, Rev. R. H. Ch. Ch. Oxford
*Graham, Mr. W. Oxford
*Graham, W. T. Esq. 17, Upper Buckingham Street, Dublin
*Grantham Clerical Society
*Graves, Rev. J. Stretton Vicarage, Ledbury
*Green, J. Esq. Woburn
Green, Mr. T. W. Leeds
*Greene, R. Esq. Lichfield
*Greenly, Rev. I. P. Burlestone Rectory, Blandford
*Greenwell, Rev. W. University Coll. Durham
*Gregory, Rev. R. C.C.C. Oxford
*Gregson, H. Esq. Lordlym, Northumberland
Gresley, Rev. William, Lichfield
*Gresley, Rev. J. M. Over Seile, Leicestershire
**Greswell, Rev. R. Worcester Coll.
**Greswell, Rev. W. Kilve Rectory, Somersetshire
*Grey, Hon. and Rev. Francis, Buxton
*Grey, Rev. W. Allington, Salisbury
*Griffinhoofe, Rev. T. J.
*Grieve, Rev. John, Barnham Rectory, Thetford, Norfolk
*Griffiths, Rev. John, Wadham Coll. Oxford
*Griffith, Rev. C. A. Commoners, Winchester
*Grueber, Rev. C. S. Westport, Curry-Rivell, Langport, Somerset
*Gruggen, Rev. F. J. St. Bees
*Guildford Theological Library
*Guillemard, Rev. H. P. Trinity Coll. Oxford
*Gutch, Rev. Rt. Segrave, Leicester
*Guyon, Rev. G. G.

*Hackman, Rev. A. Ch. Ch. Oxford
*Haddan, Rev. A. W. Trinity College, Oxford
*Haig, Rev. Robt. Armagh
*Haines, Mrs. Hampstead
*Hake, R. Esq. St. Edmund Hall, Oxf.
*Hall, Rev. W. Clare Hall, Cambridge
*Hallen, Rev. George, Rushock, Medoute, Upper Canada
*Hallen, Rev. William, Wribbenhall, Worcestershire
*Halton, Rev. T. 20, Great George Square, Liverpool
Hamilton, Rev. J. Great Baddow, Essex
*Hamson, W. H. Esq. New York
*Hanham, Rev. P. Wimborne, Dorset
*Harcourt, Rev. L. V. Midhurst
Harcourt, Rev. R. Cirencester
**Harding, Rev. G. S. Brasenose College, Oxford
*Harding, J. Esq. 52, Park Street, Grosvenor Square
**Hare, Venerable Archdeacon
Harington, Rev. Rd. D.D. Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford
*Harison, W. H. Esq. New York
*Harper, Rev. T. N. Queen's College, Oxford

*Harper, Rev. A. Inverary, Aberdeenshire
*Harper, Rev. G. Manor House, Tonbridge Wells
*Harpur, Rev. E. Lower Broughton, Manchester
* Harris, Hon. and Rev. C. Wilton, Salisbury
*Harris, Rev. J.
*Harris, G. F. Esq. The Park, Harrow
*Harris, Rev. C. Clun, near Ludlow
Harrison, Ven. B. Domestic Chaplain to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury
*Harrison, Rev. H. Goudhurst
Harrison, Rev. T. Trinity Church, Maidstone
*Harrison, Rev. W. 48, Ebury Street, Eaton Square, London
*Harrow School Library, the
*Hartley, L. L. Esq. Middleton Lodge, Richmond, Yorkshire
*Hartnell, E. G. Esq. Sandhurst, Kent
*Harvey, Rev. H. Preb. of Bristol, Bradford, Wilts
*Harvey, R. Esq. St. John's College, Oxford
*Harward, J. Esq. Stourbridge
*Hassells, Rev. C. S. Fox Earth, near Newcastle
*Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly, London
*Hathaway, Rev. F. Shadwell, near Leeds
Hawkins, Rev. E. Secretary to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
*Hawkins, Herbert S. Esq. Jesus Coll. Oxford
*Hawkins, E. Esq. British Museum
*Hawkins, Rev. E. Newport, Monmouthshire
Hawkins, Rev. W. B. L. 23, Great Marlborough-street, London
**Hawtrey, Rev. Dr. Eton College
Hayes, Rev. I. Warren, Arborfield Rectory, Berks
*Headlam, A. W. Esq. Trinity College, Cambridge
*Heale, Rev. S. W. Queen's College
*Heath, W. M. Esq. Exeter Coll. Oxford
*Heaton, Rev. C. W. Jesus Coll. Oxford
*Hedley, Rev. T. A. Gloucester
*Henderson, Rev. J. H. Hull.
*Henderson, W. G. Esq. Magd. Coll. Oxford
*Henderson, Peter, Esq. Macclesfield
*Henderson, Rev. T. Messing, Kelvedon
*Henn, Rev. W. Burton Agnes, Hull
*Herbert, Hon. Algernon, Ickleton, Saffron Walden
*Hessey, Rev. F. D.C.L. St. John's College, Oxford
*Hessey, Rev. J. A. D.C.L. St. John's College, Oxford
*Hewett, J. W. Esq. Exeter
*Hewitt, Rev. T. S. Fairburn, near Ferrybridge
*Hext, Rev. G. Corpus Christi College, Oxford
*Heygate, T. E. Esq. Queen's College, Cambridge
*Heygate, Miss, Southend, Essex
*Hichens, R. Esq. Threadneedle-street, London
*Hill, Rev. E. Ch. Ch. Oxford
*Hill, G. G. Esq. 24, Portland Place
*Hills, Rev. G. Leeds
*Hillyard, Rev. Temple, Wormleighton, Southam
*Hilton, Rev. J. D. Blackdown, Chard, Somerset
*Hilton, A. D. Esq. Wadham College, Oxford
Hinde, Rev. T. Liverpool
* Hinde, W. H. F. Esq. University College, Oxford
*Hine, Rev. H. T. C. Rectory, Quarrington, Sleaford
**Hippesley, H. Esq. Lambourne Place, Berks
*Hippisley, Rev. R. W. Stow-on-the-Wold
*Hobhouse, Rev. E. Merton Coll. Oxf.
**Hodges, late Rev. T. S. (Executors of)
*Hocking, R. Esq. Penzance
*Hodgson, Rev. I. F. Horsham
*Hodgson, Rev. J. G. Croydon, Surrey
Hodgson, Rev. H. St. Martin's, London
*Hodgson, James, Esq. Trinity Coll. Cambridge

*Hodson, Rev. J. Great Longstone, near Bakewell, Derbyshire
*Hogan, Rev. J.
Holden, Rev. W. R. Worcester
*Holden, Mr. A. Bookseller, Exeter
*Holden, Rev. H. Upminster, Essex
*Hole, Rev. J. R. Caunton Manor, Newark
*Hole, Rev. W. B. Woolfardisworthy, Crediton
*Hollinshead, H. B. Esq. Billinge Scarr, near Blackburn
*Holme, Rev. W. G.
*Holme, Hon. Mrs. A. C.
**Hook, Rev. W. F. D.D. Vicar of Leeds. Presented by a few of his younger parishioners
**Hope, A. J. B. Esq. M.P. 1, Connaught Place, London
*Hope, W. Esq. Catherine Hall, Cambridge
*Hopkins, Rev. J. O. Uffington, Salop
*Hopkinson, C. Esq. M.A. 31, Eaton Place, Belgrave Square, London
*Hopton, Mrs. Kemerton Court, Tewkesbury
*Hopwood, Rev. F. G. Knowsley, Prescot, Lancashire
Hopwood, Rev. H. Bothal, Morpeth
*Hornby, Rev. Edward, Vicarage, Ormskirk, near Liverpool
*Hornby, Rev. R. W. Flaxton Lodge, near York
*Horner, Rev. Josh. Everton, Biggleswade, Bedfordshire
*Horsfall, Rev. A. Litchurch
*Horsfall, John, Esq. Standard Hill, Nettingham
*Hotham, W. F. Esq. Christ Church, Oxford
*Houblon, Rev. T. A. Peasemore, Newbury, Berks
Houghton, Rev. John, Matching, near Harlow, Essex
*Howard, Hon. and Rev. H. E. J. D.D. Dean of Lichfield
*Howard, Rev. R. D.D. Llanrhaiadr, near Denbigh
*Howard, Hon. and Rev. W. Fareham
*Howe, J. Esq. Trinity College Cambridge
*Howell, Rev. Hinds, Shobrooke, Devon
*Howorth, Rev. W., March, Isle of Ely, Cambridgeshire
*Hue, Dr., 9, Bedford Square, London
*Hughes, Rev. H.
*Hughes, Rev. J. B. Hadley, near Barnet
*Hughes, Rev. A. B. Coventry
*Hullah, T. Esq.
*Hunt, Rev. R. S. Taddington Vicarage, Bakewell
*Hunt, Rev. G. Vicarage, Buckland, Plymouth
*Hunter, Rev. A. Alvechurch
*Hunter, Rev. W. Lurgurshall, near Godalming
*Huntingford, Rev. G. W. Winchester
*Hussey, Rev. W. L. Witham, Essex
Hutchinson, Rev. C. Chichester
*Hutchinson, Rev. T. Grantsfield, Leominster
*Hutchinson, R. Esq. Mersey Court, Liverpool
*Hutton, Rev. G. B. Gainsborough
*Hutton, Rev. T. Loughborough, Leicestershire
*Hyde and Crewe, Newcastle, Staffordshire

**Inge, Rev. I. R.
*Ingham, I. Esq. Blake Hall, Merfield, Yorkshire
Inner Temple, the Hon. Society of the, London
*Iremonger, Rev. F. A. Shipton, near Marlborough, Wilts
*Irving, Rev. J. Kendall

*Jackson, Rev. T. St. Peter's, Stepney
*Jackson, J. Esq. Ch. Ch.
*Jackson, T. Esq.
*Jackson, J. H. Esq.
*Jackson, Rev. J. J. Mullantaine, Stewartstown, Ireland
*Jackson, G. Esq.
*Jackson, Rev. J. Islington
*James, Sir Walter, Bart., M. P. 11, Whitehall Place, London
*James, Rev. T. Sibbestoft, near Welford, Northamptonshire
*Janvrin, J. H. Esq. Oriel Coll. Oxford

*Jeffray, Rev. L. W. Ashton Parsonage, Preston
*Jelf, Rev. Dr. Canon of Ch. Ch. Oxford
*Jelf, Rev. W. E. Ch. Ch. Oxford
*Jenkins, Rev. J.
*Jenner, Rev. C. H. Frampton, Gloucestershire
*Jennings, Rev. M. J. Chaplain to the Hon. East India Company
*Jerrard, Rev. F. W. H. Long Stratton, Norfolk
*Jersey, The Very Rev. the Dean of
*Jeune, Rev. F. D.D. Master of Pembroke College, Oxford
*Johnson, Rev. W. C. Diptford, Devon
*Jones, W. B. Esq.
*Jones, Rev. T. Sporle, near Swaffham
*Jones, E. K. Esq. 28, Mark-lane
*Jones, Rev. D. E. Stamford
*Jones, Rev. J. S. Armagh, Ireland
*Jones, Rev. R. Branxton, Coldstream
*Jones, Rev. W. H. Alderley, Congleton, Cheshire
*Jones, Rev. R. W. L. Newcastle-on-Tyne
*Jones, B. Esq. Lowestoft
*Joy, Rev. W. Hill Park, Westerham, Kent

Karslake, Rev. T. W. Culmstock, near Wellington
*Keble, Rev. J. Hursley, Winchester
*Keith, Mr. J. Bookseller, Glasgow
*Kelly, A. Esq. Kelly House, Launceston
*Kempe, Rev. J. C. Morchard Bishop's, Devon
*Ken Society, Leeds
*Kendall, Rev. J. H. F. Guiseley, near Leeds
*Kennard, John P. Esq. 4, Lombard-Street, London
*Kenrick, Rev. Jarvis, Horsham, Sussex
*Kent, jun. Rev. G. D. Sudbrook, near Lincoln
*Kenyon, Lord, 9, Portman Square, London
*Kenyon, Dr. All Souls' College, Oxford
*Keppell, Hon. and Rev. T. Wells, Norfolk
**Kerby, Rev. C. L. Stoke Talmage, near Tetsworth
*Kerr, Rev. Lord H. Dittisham
*Kerr, James, Esq. Coventry
*Kershaw, Rev. G. W. St. Nicholas, Worcester
*Key, Rev. H. C. Stretton Rectory, Herefordshire
*Keymes, Rev. N. Christ's Hospital, Hertford
Kilvert, Rev. F. Bath
*King, Rev. Bryan, Rector of St. George's-in-the-East, London
*King, Mr. H. S. Brighton
*King, T. H. Esq. Exeter College, Oxford
King, Rev. W. Smyth, Ireland
*King's College, Frederick Town, New Brunswick
Kingdon, Rev. G. T. Trinity College, Cambridge
*Kingsford, B. Esq. Exeter College, Oxford
*Kingsmill, Rev. H. Buxted, near Uckfield, Sussex
*Kingsmill, William, Esq. Sidmonton House, Hants
**Kirby, R. H. Esq. St. John's Coll. Cambridge
Kirrier, Clerical Society, Cornwall
*Kirwan, Rev. J. H. Bath
*Kitson, Rev. J. F. Exeter College, Oxford
*Knight, Rev. J. W. Free School, Coventry
*Knott, Rev. J. W. Brasenose College, Oxford
*Knowles, J. L. Esq. Pembroke College, Oxford
*Knowles, Edward H. Esq. St. Bees Grammar School, Whitehaven
Knox, Rev. H. B. Monk's Cleigh, Hadleigh, Suffolk
*Knox, Rev. Spencer, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Kerry
*Kyle, Rev. John T. Cork

*Lakin, Rev. J. M. Offenham, near Evesham
*Lamotte, Rev. F. L. Scarborough
*Landon, Rev. E. H.
Lane, Rev. E. Gloucester
*Langbridge, Mr. Birmingham
Langdon, A. Esq. Coldharbour House, Tonbridge
*Langley, Rev. T. Landogo, Monmouth
*Langmore, Dr.
**Laprimaudaye, Rev. C. J. Rectory, Graffham, Petworth
*Larden, G. F. Esq. Brotherton, Ferrybridge
*Latouche, Rev. J. Rathfornham, co. Dublin
*Lawrell, Rev. J. Cove, Bagshot
*Lawson, Rev. R.
*Lawson, Rev. W. D. Magd. College, Cambridge
*Lawson, Rev. G. West Grimstead, Salisbury
*Lea, J. W. Esq. Wadham Coll. Oxf.
*Lee, Rev. Sackville, Exeter
*Lee, Rev. William, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin
*Lee, Rev. M. Dawlish, Devon
*Lefroy, Rev. A. C.
* Legge, Rev. W. Ashstead, Epsom
*Legge, Hon. and Rev. Henry, Blackheath, Kent
* Leighton, Rev. F. K. All Souls Coll. Oxford
*Leighton, Rev. W. A. Shrewsbury
*Leman, Rev. T. Brampton Rectory, Beccles
*Le Mesurier, J. Esq. Christ Church, Oxford
*Leonard, Rev. R. W. Aynho, Banbury
Leslie, Mr. Great Queen Street, London
*Leslie, Rev. C. Kilmore, Cavan, Ireland
*Lethbridge, Ambrose, Esq. All Souls, Oxford
*Lewthwaite, Rev. W. H. Clifford, near Tadcaster
**Ley, Rev. Jacob, Christ Church, Oxford
*Ley, Rev. John, Exeter College, Oxford
*Ley, R. Esq. Brasenose Coll. Oxford
*Lichfield Cathedral, the Dean and Chapter of
*Liddon, H. Esq. Taunton
*Lindsay, Hon. C. Trinity College, Cambridge
*Lindsay, Ven. C. Archdeacon of Kildare
*Lingard, E. A. Esq. Manchester.
Linzee, Rev. Edw. Hood
*Linzee, R. G. Esq. Ch. Ch. Oxford
*Litler, Rev. Robert, Poynton Parsonage, near Macclesfield
*Lloyd, Rev. F. L. L. Wilnecote, Farelay
*Lloyd, Rev. C. Great Hampden Rectory, Missenden, Bucks
*Lloyd, Rev. Edgar, Badgworth, Cheltenham
*Lloyd, Rev. H. W. Jesus College, Oxford
*Lockyer, E. L. Esq. Emmanuel Coll. Cambridge
*London Library, Pall Mall
*Long, W. Esq. Bath
*Lott, H. J. Esq. Hornton, Devon
*Lott, H. B. Esq. Tracy House, Awliscombe
*Low, I. L. Esq.
*Lowder, Rev. C. F. Tetbury, Gloucestershire
*Lowe, Rev. J. M. Vicarage, Abbot's Bromley
*Lowe, Rev. R. F. Madeira
*Lowe, Rev. R. H. Abascragh, co. Galway
*Lowe, F. Esq. 2, Tanfield Court, Temple
*Lowndes, Rev. C. Hartwell Rectory, near Aylesbury
*Lukis, Rev. W. C. Bradford, Wilts
Lund, Rev. T. B.D. St. John's College, Cambridge
*Lush, Rev. Vicesimus
*Lush, A. Esq.
*Lusk, John, Esq. Glasgow
Lutwyche, A. I. P. Esq. Middle Temple
*Luxmoore, Rev. J. H. M. Marchweil, Wrexham
*Lyall, W. H. Esq. Ch. Ch. Oxford
*Lyon, J. Esq. Queen's Coll. Cambr.
*Lyttleton, The Right Hon. Lord
*Lyttleton, Hon. and Rev. W. H. Kettering, Northamptonshire

*Maberly, Rev. T. A. Cuckfield, Sussex
*M'c All, Rev. Edward, Brixton, Isle of Wight
*Macfarfane, W. C. Esq. Birmingham
*Machlachlan, Rev. A. N. Campbell, Kelvedon, Essex
*Mackenzie, A. C. Esq. St. John's College, Oxford
*Mackonochie, A. H. Esq. Edinburgh
*Maclean, Rev. H. Coventry
*Maclean, Rev. W. Prebendary of Tynan, Armagh
*Maddison, Rev. J. C. Stottesden
*Maddock, Rev. E. N. Leamington Priors
*Madox, Wm. Esq. 154, Albany Street, Regent's Park
*Major, Rev. I. R. D.D. King's Coll. London
*Malcolm, Rev. Gilbert, Toddenham
*Malcolm, W. E. Esq. Burnfoot Langholm, Dumfriesshire
*Malins, Mr. G. W. R.
*Mangin, Rev. Edw. N. South Cerney, Gloucestershire
*Mann, Rev. W. M. Thornthwaite Keswick, Cumberland
*Manning, Rev. F. J. Lincoln College, Oxford
*Mansell, L. Esq. St. John's College, Oxford
*Manson, Rev. A. T. G.
*Mapleton, Rev. R. J. St. John's Coll. Oxford
Mapperton, Rev. C. Fox
*Markland, J. H. Esq. Bath
*Marriott, Rev. C. Oriel College, Oxford
*Marriott, Rev. J. Bradfield, Reading
*Marshall, Rev. S. Eton
*Marshall, Rev. E. Deene Rectory, Wansford
*Martin, Rev. F. Trinity College, Cambridge
*Martin, Rev. John, Orford, near Woodbridge
*Martin, Rev. G. Exeter
*Martin, Rev. Wm. Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
*Martyn, Rev. J. W. Exeter
*Mason, Rev. J. Great Malvern
*Mason, Rev. A. W. Bocking, Essex
*Mason, Rev. H. B. Head Master of Brewood School, Staffordshire
Mason, Mr. W. H. Chichester
*Mathison, Rev. W. C. M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge
*Matthews, Rev. R. M. Great Bowden, Market Harborough
*Maule, Rev. G. Ampthill Rectory
*Maynard, Rev. John
*Maynard, Rev. R. Wormleighton, Southam
*Mayo, A. F. Esq. Oriel College, Oxford
*Mayor, Rev. C. Weasingham, Suffolk
*Meason, Rev. Henry, Exeter
*Melton Mowbray Clerical Society
Mence, Rev. J. W. Ilkley, Otley, Yorkshire
*Menet, J. Esq. Exeter College, Oxford
*Meredith, Rev. R. F. Halstock, Dorchester
*Merriman, H. G. Esq. New College, Oxford
*Merry, Rev. R. M.A. Jesus College, Cambridge
*Mesham, Rev. A. B. Wotton, near Canterbury
*Metcalf, Rev. W. L. Scarborough
*Metcalfe, Rev. Wallace, Reddendall, Harlestone, Norfolk
*Middleton, Rev. J. E.
*Milburne, Rev. W. Wolsingham, Durham
*Mill, Rev. Dr. Brasted, Kent
*Miller, E. Esq. New College, Oxford
*Mills, Rev. R. T. Magdalene College, Oxford
*Minster, Rev. T. Farmley Tyas
*Mittre, Rev. Gopel Chunder, Bishop's College, Calcutta
*Moberly, Rev. J. A. Crickfield
*Moberly, Rev. Dr. Winchester
*Money Kyrle, Rev. E. A. Clun, near Ludlow
*Monro, Rev. E. Oriel Coll. Oxford
*Monsell, Rev. C. H.
*Monsell, Rev. J. S. Belfast, Ireland
*Monsell, W. Esq. Limerick, Ireland

*Montagu, J. E. Esq. Exeter College
*Moore, A. P. Esq. Trinity College, Cambridge
*Moore, Rev. Edward
*Moore, Rev. J. W. Hordley, Ellesmere
*Morrell, F. Esq. St. Giles's, Oxford
*Morrice, Rev. W. D. Clovelly, near Bideford, Devon
*Morris, Rev. T. E. Ch. Ch. Oxford
*Morrison, Rev. A.
Morton, Mr. Boston
*Morton, Rev. M. C. Newcastle on Tyne
*Mould, Rev. R. A. Rectory, Cheadle, Staffordshire
Moultrie, Rev. J. Rugby
Mount, Rev. C. M. Prebendary of Wells
*Mountain, Rev. G. R. Rector of Havant
*Mountain, Rev. H. B. Prebendary of Lincoln
*Mountain, Rev. J. G. St. John's, Newfoundland
*Mozley, Rev. J. B. Magdalene College, Oxford
*Mules, Rev. P. Exeter Coll. Oxford
*Munn, Rev. G. Worcester
*Muskett, Mr. C. Norwich

*Neeld, J. Esq. M.P. Grittleton House, Chippenham
*Nelson, Earl, Bricknorth House, near Salisbury
*Nelson, Rev. H. Woodlawn, near Maidstone
*Neville, W. Esq. Trinity College, Oxford
*Nevins, Rev. W. Minningsby, near Horncastle
*New York Theological Seminary
*Newland, Rev. Dr. Ferns
*Newman, Rev. W. S. Warwick
*Newmarsh, Rev. C. F. Pilham Rectory, Gainsborough
*Newton, Mr. C. Croydon
*New-York-Society Library
Nicholl, Rev. J. R. Rectory, Streatham, Surrey
*Nicholls, Rev. W. L. Bristol
*Nicholson, Rev. W. Wickham House, Welford, Berks
*Nicoll, Rev. Charles, Stratford, Essex
*Nixon, Rev. C. F. Castle Gate, Nottingham
*Noott, Rev. E. H. L. Dudley, Worcestershire
*North, Rev. Jacob, Blackheath, Kent
*Northcote, Rev. G. B.
*Norwich Clerical Society
*Nunns, Rev. T. Birmingham
*Nutt, Rev. Charles Theston, Bath

*O'Brien, Mr. E. Dublin
*O'Brien, Rev. H. Killegar, Ireland
*O'Brien, Mrs. 108, George Street, Limerick
*Ogle and Son, Booksellers, Glasgow
*Oldershaw, R. Esq. Islington
*Oldham, Rev. J. R. East Dulwich Grove, Peckham Rye, near London
*Oldham, Rev. George A. Brunswick Place, Brighton
*Oldknow, Rev. Joseph, Bordesley, Birmingham
*Oliver, Rev. J. Rothwell, Northamptonshire
*Oliverson, R. Esq. 14 Portland Place, London
*Ormerod, H. M. Esq. 2, Essex Street, Manchester
*Ormsby, Rev. W. A. East Bradenham, Shipdham
*Orr, James, Esq. Oriel College, Oxford
*Osborn, Rev. G. Manchester
*Ostell, Messrs. T. & Co. booksellers, London
*Oswell, Rev. E. W.
*Ouvry, Rev. P. T. Oxford Terrace, London
*Owen, H. Esq. Worksop, Notts
*Owen, Rev. R. Llanrhaiade, near Denbigh
*Oxenham, Rev. Nutcombe, Modbury, Totness
*Packe, C. W. Esq. M.P. Great Glen, Leicestershire
*Pagan, Rev. S. Leverbridge, Bolton-le-Moors
Page, Rev. C. Westminster Abbey
*Page, Rev. L. F. Woolpit, Bury St. Edmund's

Page, R. jun. Esq.
*Page, Rev. Vernon, Ch. Ch. Oxford
*Paget, Rev. F. E. Elford, Lichfield
*Paine, Cornelius, Esq. 2, Mountford House, Barnsbury Square, Islington
*Palmer, Roundell, Esq.
*Palmer, Rev. W. Magdalen College, Oxford
*Pardoe, Rev. J. Leyton, Stone, Essex
*Parker, Rev. E. Bahia, South America
*Parker, Rev. R. Welton, Spilsby, Lincolnshire
*Parkinson, Mrs. Louth
*Parkinson, Rev. J. P. D.C.L. Magdalene College, Oxford
*Parr, Rev. W. H. Halifax
*Parrington, Rev. Matthew, Diocesan Training School, Chichester
*Pascoe, Rev. T. St. Hilary, Marazion, Cornwall
†Patteson, Hon. Mr. Justice
*Paul, G. W. Esq. Magdalene Coll. Oxford
*Payne, R. jun. Esq. Magdalene Hall, Oxford
*Paynsent, F. A. Esq., Antigua, West Indies
*Pedder, Rev. E. Lancaster
*Peed, Rev. J. Kiltennel Glebe, Constown Harbour, co. Wexford
*Pelly, Rev. T. Birchanger Rectory, Bishop Stortford, Essex
*Pengelly, Rev. J. C.
*Pennefather, Rev. William, 16, Lowndes Square, London
*Pennell, R. O. Esq. Ch. Ch.
†Penney, Rev. E. St. Andrew's, Canterbury
*Penny, C. B. Esq. Theol. College, Wells
*Perceval, Captain E. A. Bindon House, Milverton, Somerset
*Percival, Ernest A. Esq. Bindon House, Milverton, Somerset
*Perram, Rev. G. J. Teston, near Maidstone, Kent
*Perry, Rev. A. Bettesworth, Precentor's Vicar of St. Canices Cathedral, Kilkenny
*Perry, T. W. Esq. 20, Steward-street, Spitalfields
*Perry, Rev. G. Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford
**Peterborough, The Very Rev. the Dean of
*Petty, T. E. Esq. Trinity College, Cambridge
*Phelps, Rev. Dr. Master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge
*Phelps, Rev. T. P. Ridley, Seven Oaks, Kent
*Phelps, Rev. H. D. Tarrington, near Ledbury, Hereford
*Philips, G. H. Esq. Belle Vue, Liverpool
*Phillips, Rev. E. Surbiton, Kingston-on-Thames
*Phillipps, R. B. Esq. Longworth, near Ledbury
*Philpott, Rev. Other, Willand Vicarage, Upton-on-Severn, Worcestershire
*Philpott, Rev. T. Maddresfield, Worcester
*Pickard, Rev. E. Winterbourne-Kingston, Blandford
*Pickering, Rev. H.
*Piercy, Rev. J. W. Wimeswold
*Pigott, Rev. A. J. Newport, Salop
*Pigott, Rev. George, Bombay
*Pigott, Rev. H. Madleigh, Suffolk
*Pinder, Rev. J. H. Precentor of Wells
*Platt, J. P. Esq. 39, Tavistock-square, London
**Pocock, Rev. N. Queen's College, Oxford
Pocock, Mr. W. Bath
*Poland, F. W. Esq. Emmanuel College, Cambridge
*Ponsonby, Hon. Walter
*Pope, Rev. T. A. Stoke Newington
*Pope, Rev. J. P. Langley
*Popham, Rev. W. Heywood, Westbury, Wilts
*Porter, Rev. C. Aughnamullen Rectory, Ballilay, Ireland
*Portman, Rev. F. Staple Fitzpaine
*Pott, Rev. A. Cuddesden
*Pountney, Rev. H. St. John's, Wolverhampton
**Powell, A. Esq. Carey Street, London

**Powell, Rev. E. A. Caldecote, near Cambridge
*Powell, Rev. J. C.
*Powell, Rev. Richmond, Bury, near Arundel, Sussex
*Powell, Rev. R. Worcester College, Oxford
*Power, Rev. J. P. 11, Belgrave Road, Pimlico, London
*Power, Rev. J., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge
*Powles, Rev. R. C. Exeter College
*Pownall, Rev. A. Newport, Shropshire
*Pownall, Rev. C. C. B. Milton Ernest, Bedfordshire
*Pownall, Rev. W. L. 1, Brunswick Square, Bristol.
*Powys, Hon. and Rev. Horace, Warrington
Poynder, Rev. F.
*Prater, Rev. T. Hardwicke, near Bicester
*Prescott, Rev. I. P.
*Preston, Rev. Plunket, Prebendary of Edermine, Ferns, Ireland
*Prevost, Rev. Sir George, Bart. Stinchcombe, Dursley
*Price, Rev. B. Pembroke College, Oxford
*Price, Rev. E. H. Rectory, Lutterworth
*Prichard, Rev. R. Newbold Rectory, Shipston-on-Stour
*Pridden, Rev. W. West Stow Rectory Bury St. Edmund's
*Pritt, Rev. L. Vicarage, Bakewell, Derbyshire
*Prosser, Rev. S. Blackheath Park
*Prothero, G. Esq. Brasenose College, Oxford.
*Prynne, Rev. G. R. Tywardreath, near St. Austele, Cornwall
*Pryor, A. Esq. Down Lodge, Wandsworth
*Pryor, Rev. R. Spelsbury
*Pulling, Rev. W. Hereford
**Pusey, Rev. Dr. Canon of Ch. Ch. Oxford
*Pusey, Rev. W. B. Maidstone
Pym, Rev. F.
*Radford, Rev. J. A. Down St. Mary, near Crediton
*Raffles, Rev W. C. Flint
*Raikes, R. Esq. Welton, near Hull
*Ramsbotham, Rev. T. Wakefield
Randolph, Rev. E. J. Tring
*Randolph, Rev. W. Newington, near Folkstone
Raven, Rev. V.
*Raven, Rev. J.
*Rawle, Rev. R. Cheadle, Staffordshire
*Reed, Rev. C. Chirton House, Tynemouth
*Reed, Rev. J. Harold's Cross, Dublin
*Reeve, Mr. W. Leamington
*Reid, Rev. C. J. 42, Frederick-street, Edinburgh
*Rew, Rev. Charles, St. John's College, Oxford
Rhides, M. T. Esq. Stanmoor Hall, Middlesex
*Richards, Edw. Priest, Esq. Cardiff
*Richards, Rev. Edw. Tew, Farlington Rectory, Havant
*Richards, Rev. W. Upton, 169, Albany Street, London
*Richards, Rev. H. M. Christ Church, Oxford
Rickards, Rev. F. Stowlangtoft, Suffolk
*Riddell, Rev. J. C. B. Harrietsham
*Riddle, John B. Esq. 2, Seymour Place, Bristol
*Ridley, Rev. W. H. Hambledon
*Ridley, Rev. N. J. West Meon, Petersfield
*Ritson, J. Esq. Jesus College, Cambridge
*Rivaz, C. Esq. Great St. Helen's London
*Roberts, Rev. J. W. Cwmcynfelin, Aberystwith
*Roberts, Rev. L. Slaidburn, near Clitheroe, Yorkshire
*Robertson, Dr. Doctors' Commons, London
*Robertson, Rev. J. C. Beakesbourne, Canterbury

*Robertson, G. S. Esq. Exeter College, Oxford
*Robertson, Rev. J. Gateshead Fell, Durham
*Robin, Rev. P. R. Itchen, Southampton
*Robins, Rev. Sanderson, Shaftesbury, Dorsetshire
*Robinson, Rev. Sir George, Bart. Cranford, Northamptonshire
*Robinson, Rev. Christr. Kirknewton, near Wooler, Northumberland
*Robinson, Rev. R. B. Lytham, near Preston
*Rodmell, Rev. J.
*Rodwell, Rev. R. M. Powderham Castle, Devon
*Rogers, Rev. Edward, Eliot Place, Blackheath, Kent
*Rooke, Seton, Esq. Oriel College, Oxford
Rose, Rev. H. H. Erdington
*Ross, Rev. I. L. Fyfield, near Burford
**Ross and Argyll, Diocesan Library of
**Routh, Rev. Dr. President of Magd. College, Oxford
*Routledge, Rev. W. Bishop's Bull, Taunton
*Rowlandson, Rev. J. Mansergh, near Kirby Lonsdale
*Rowsell, Rev. T. J.
*Rudd, Rev. L. H. Reading
**Russell, D. Watts, Esq. Biggin Hall, Oundle
**Russell, I. Watts, Esq. Ilam Hall, Ashbourn, Derbyshire
*Russell, Rev. S. Printing House Sq., London

Sandford, Rev. John, Dunchurch, near Rugby
*Sandham, Rev. James
*Sandilands, Hon. and Rev. J. Coston Rectory, Melton Mowbray
*Sandon, Lord, 39, Grosvenor-square, ondon
*Sargeant, Rev. R. Worcester
Saunders, Rev. A. P. D.D. Master of the Charter House
*Saunders, Rev. C. Tarrant, Hurton
*Savage, Rev. W. Queen's College, Oxford
*Savory, J. S. Esq. 16, Somerset Place, Bath
Scarth, Rev. H. Bathwick, Bath
*Schofield, Rich. L. Esq.
**Scott, Rev. R. Duloe, Cornwall
*Scott, Rev. W. Ch. Ch. Hoxton
*Scougall, H. B. Esq. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
*Scudamore, Rev. W. E. Ditchingham, Bungay
*Scudding, Rev. H. Upper Canada College, Toronto
*Selwyn, Rev. W. Canon of Ely
*Seymour, E. W. Esq. Porthmawr, Breconshire
Seymour, Rev. Sir J. Hobart, Bart., Prebendary of Gloucester
*Seymour, Rev. R. Kinwarton, Alcester
*Sharp, Rev. John, Horbury, Wakefield
*Sharpe, Rev. W. C. M.A. Marlborough
*Sharpe, Mrs. M. O. Bookseller, 4, Berkeley Square
*Shaw, Mrs. George, Fen Drayton, St. Ives
*Shaw, Rev. John, Stoke, Slough, Bucks.
*Shaw, Rev. M. Hawkhurst, Kent
*Shea, Rev. Robert Francis Jones, Churton Heath, Chester
*Shelley, Rev. John, Kingsby Rectory, Cheadle, Staffordshire
*Shepherd, Rev. S. North Somercote, near Louth, Lincolnshire
*Shepherd, J. B Esq. Stourbridge
*Sheppard, J. H. Esq. Queen's College, Oxford
*Sheppard, Rev. J. G. Repton Priory, Burton-on-Trent
*Sheppard, Rev. F. M.A. Clare Hall, Cambridge
*Shields, Rev. W. T. Durham

*Shilleto, Rev. Richard, M.A. King's College, Cambridge
*Shilleto, Rev. W. York
*Shipston-on-Stour Theological Book Society
*Shipton, Rev. J. N. D.D. Othery, near Bridgewater
*Shirreff, Rev. S. B. Birkwell Minden, Warwick
*Shirreff, Rev. R. St. John, Blackheath
Shuttleworth, Rev. E.
*Sidgwick, C. Esq. Skipton, Yorkshire
*Sillifant, J. W. Esq. Exeter College, Oxford
*Simes, G. F. Esq.
*Simms, Rev. E. Bath
Simpson, Rev. H. Bexhill
*Simpson, Rev. W. H. Louth, Lincolnshire
*Simpson, R. Esq.
*Singer, Rev. Dr. I. H., S.F.T.C.D.
*Singleton, Rev. R. C.
*Sion College Library
*Skeffington, Hon. T. C. F. Worcester College, Oxford
*Skinner, Fitzowen, Esq. 23, Keppel Street, Russell Square
*Skinner, Rev. J.
*Skrine, Rev. Harcourt, Sunbury, Middlesex
*Slade, Rev. James, Bolton
*Sladen, Rev. E. H. M. Bockleton
**Slatter, Rev. John, Iffley
*Slight, Rev. H. S. Corpus Christi College, Oxford
*Small, Rev. Nath. P. Market Bosworth, Hinckley
*Smirke, Sir Robert, London, 5, Stratford Place, Oxford-street, London
*Smith, Rev. Edw.
Smith, Rev. G. Garvagh, Ireland
*Smith, Rev. H. T. Queen's College, Oxford
*Smith, Rev. J. Trinity College, Oxford
*Smith, Rev. W. Great Cauford, Wimborne
*Smith, Rev. R. P. 1, Eyre Place, Edinburgh
*Smith, Rev. H. Sennicotts, Chichester
*Smith, Rev. E. Forgue
*Smyth, Rev. H. Fenner, Glebe, Johnstown
*Smythe, Rev. Hugh
Snare, Mr. John, Reading
*Somers, the Countess of, Eastnor Castle, Tewkesbury
*Sowden, Rev. J. G. Stainland, Halifax
*Sparke, Rev. E. Hapton Vicarage, Norfolk
*Spence, Rev. J.
*Spottiswoode, W. Esq. New Street, Fetter Lane
Spreat, Mr. W. Exeter
*Spry, Rev. J. H. D.D. St. Mary-lebone
Spurgin, Rev. J. Maidstone
*Stafford, Rev. J. C. Dinton, Salisbury
*Stainton, T. Esq. Wadham College, Oxford
*Stanley, Rev. E. Rugby
*Starkey, Rev. A. B. C. St. John's College, Oxford
*Staunton, Rev. W.
*Steel, H. W. Esq. Mathune, near Chepstow
**Stert, Rev. A. R. 33, Connaught Square, London
*Stevens, Rev. T. Bradford, Reading
*Stevenson, Rev. J. Durham University
*Stewart, Rev. J. Coddington
*Stillingfleet, H. Esq. Brasenose College, Oxford
*Stirrop, H. G. Jukes, Esq. Worcester College, Oxford
*Stockdale, Rev. H. Misterton Vicarage, Gainsborough
*Stoker, Rev. H. Durham
*Stonehouse, Rev. W. B. Owston
*Stott, Miss, Bradford, Yorkshire
*Street, J. Esq. Lloyd's Rooms, London
*Street, W. F. Esq. 23, Austin Friars, London
*Stretton, Rev. H. 4, Great Smith Street, Westminster

*Stuart, Rev. John B., M.D. Billeston, Leicester
*Stuart, Rev. Hamilton
*Studdert, Rev. G. Dundalk
*Sturges, Rev. S. Magdalene Hall, Oxford
**Sturrock, Rev. W. Chaplain, Bengal Presidency
*Suart, Rev A. Thomham Vicarage, Maidstone
*Suckling, Rev. R. Bussage, near Chalford, Gloucestershire
*Swainson, Rev. C. A. Christ's College, Cambridge
*Swainson, Rev. E. E. Clunn, Shropshire
*Swainson, Rev. C. L. Crick Rectory, Daventry
*Swan, J. Esq. Clifton, Bristol
*Swansborough, Rev. G. S.
*Sweet, Rev. C. Broadleigh, Wellington, Somerset
*Sweet, Rev. J. Hales, Eastcott Place, Camden Town
*Swinney, Rev. H. H. Magd. College, Cambridge
*Swire, Rev. John, Rothwell, Leeds
*Sykes, G. M. Esq. Downing College, Cambridge

*Tarbutt, Rev. A. C. St. Mary's, Reading
*Tate, Rev. Frank, University College, Oxford
*Tatham, Rev. Arthur, Broadoak, Lostwithiel, Cornwall
*Tatham, Rev. J. Southwell, Nottinghamshire
Tayler, Rev. A. W. Stoke Newington
*Taylor, A. Esq. Queen's College, Oxford
*Tennant, Rev. W. 3, Cawley-street, Westminster
*Thomas, Rev. J. H. Muswell Hill, Hornsey
*Thomson, Rev. J. Christ's Hospital, London
Thornton, Rev. T. Brockhall, Weedon
Thornton, Rev. W. Dodford, Weedon
*Thorpe, Ven. Archdeacon C. Durham
**Thorp, Ven. Archdeacon T. Trinity College, Cambridge
*Thrupp, J. W. Esq. Upper Brookstreet
*Thurland, Rev. F. E. New College, Oxford
Thwaytes, Rev. J. Perpetual Curate of Trinity Church, Carlisle
*Thynne, Right Hon. and Rev. Lord John, D.D. Rector of Street-cum-Walton
*Thynne, Rev. Lord Charles, Longbridge Deverill, Warminster
*Tindal, H. Esq. Brasenose College, Oxford
*Tindale, John, Esq. Huddersfield
*Tireman, Mrs. Nurton, Chepstow
*Todd, Rev. Dr. Trinity College, Dublin
*Tonge, G. Esq.
*Tottenham, Rev. E. Bath
*Topham, Rev. J. Huddersfield
*Tower, F. E. Esq. Theol. College, Wells
*Townson, Rev. J. Queen's College, Cambridge
*Tragett, Rev. T. H. Awbridge Danes, near Romsey
*Treacher, I. S. Esq. Magd. Hall
*Trench, Rev. F. S. Kilmoroney Athey
*Tripp, Rev. Dr. Silverton, Devonshire
*Tristram, Rev. H. B. Lincoln College, Oxford
*Tritton, Henry, Esq. 54, Lombard Street, London
*Trollope, Rev. A. St. Mary-le-bow
*Trotter, C. Esq. Edinburgh
*Troughton, Rev. J. L. Hawarden, Chester
*Trower, Rev. Walter, Wiston, near Steyning
*Truro Theological Library, care of Rev. W. D. Longlands, Kenwyn, Cornwall
*Tryon, Rev. C. A. Willingale, Ongar, Essex
Tuckwell, Rev. Henry, St. John's, Newfoundland
*Tudor, R. Esq. Magd. Hall, Oxford

*Tupper, W. G. Esq. Trinity Coll. Oxford
*Turbitt, Rev. J. H. Powick, near Worcester
*Tute, J. S. Esq. St. John's College, Cambridge
*Turner, Miss, Shooter's Hill, Kent
*Turner, Rev. G. Chelsfield, Farnborough, Kent
*Turner, Rev. R. P. Hagley, Stourbridge
*Turner, Lieut. Col.
*Turner, J. Esq. Balliol Coll. Oxford
Turner, Rev. Sam. H. D.D. Prof. in the New York Theol. Seminary of the Episcopal Church
*Turner, Rev. W. Fishbourn, Chichester
*Twining, Rev. G. B. Tottenham, Middlesex
*Twining, Jas. Esq. Trinity Coll. Camb.
*Twiss, G. J. Esq. Great Shelford, Cambridge
*Tyler, Rev. Geo. Trinity Coll. Oxford
*Tyrwhitt, Rev. R. E. Bombay

*Underwood, R. Esq. Broadwell Rectory, Stow-on-the-Wold
*Utterton, Rev. I. S. Dorking
*Van Dieman's Land Library
*Vaux, W. S. W. Esq. Ball. Coll. Oxford
*Vaux, Rev. W. Winchester
*Venables, Rev. E. Hurstmoneaux, Battle, Sussex
*Vernon, Honourable Mrs.
*Vickerman, C. R. Esq.
Vigne, Rev. Henry, Sunbury, Middlesex
*Vizard, J. Esq. Dursley, Gloucester
*Vogan, Mrs. Walburton Vicarage, near Arundel
*Voules, Rev. F. Eton

*Wade, Benjamin, Esq. Dublin
*Wade, Rev. N. St. Paul's, Bunhill Row
*Wade, T. Esq. 3, Albany Terrace, Park Square, London
*Wagner, A. D. Esq. Vicarage, Brighton
*Wagner, Rev. G. Dallington, Sussex
*Wagstaff, Rev. C. Aberdeen
*Waites, Rev. T. Bentley, South Stainley, near Harrogate
*Walcott, Rev. Mackenzie E. C. M.A. St. Margaret's, Westminster
Walford, Rev. O. Charterhouse
**Walford, Rev. W. Hatfield, Witham, Essex
*Walker, Rev. C. H. North Tamerton, Launceston
*Walker, Mr. J. A.
*Walker, John, Esq. Prestwick Lodge, Ponteland, Newcastle-upon-Tyne
*Wallace, Rev. G. Canterbury
*Waller, Rev. W. Hartrow, near Taunton
*Wallis, Mr. H. J. Bookseller, Exeter
*Walter, H. Esq. Exeter Coll. Oxford
*Ward, Rev. John, Great Bedwyn, Wilts
*Ward, Rev. W. C. Southampton
*Warre, Rev. Fran. Bishop's Lydiard
*Warter, Rev. I. Wood, West Tarring, Sussex
*Warwick Rural Deanery Society
*Watkins, W. B. Esq. Wadham College, Oxford
*Watkins, Rev. B. E.
*Watson, Rev. Alexander, St. John's, Cheltenham
*Watson, G. W. Esq. Merton College, Oxford
*Watson, Joshua, Esq. Park-Street
*Watts, Rev. John, Tarrant-Gunville, Dorset
*Weguelin, Rev. W. A. South Stoke, near Arundel
Wells, Rev. F. Woodchurch, Tenterden, Kent
*Wells Theological College
*Wells, Rev. F. F. Trinity College, Cambridge
*Wenham, J. G. Esq. St. John's College, Oxford
*Wetherell, T. F. Esq. Shouldham, Downham, Norfolk
*Wentworth, Rev. S. E. Liverpool
West, Hon. and Rev. S. Withyham
Weston, Francis M. Esq. Charleston, U.S.
*Weston, Plowden, Esq. Charleston, U.S.
*Wheatley, E. B. Esq. Cote Walls
*Wheeler, Rev. G. D. Wolford, Warwickshire
*Whitby, R. Vernon, Esq. Osbaston Lodge, Market-Bosworth
*Whitcome, J. Esq. Gloucester
*White, Rev. R. All Saints, Blackburn, Lancashire
*White, Rev. R. Marsh, Aveley, Essex

*White, Rev. H. M. New College, Oxford
*White, A. Esq. Balliol College, Oxford
*White, Rev. J. T. Holywell, near Guilsborough, Northampton
*Whitehead, Rev. W. Worcester College, Oxford
*Whitelegg, Rev. W. Hulme, near Manchester
Whitley and Booth, Messrs. Halifax
*Whitfield, Rev. G. T. Bockleton, Tenbury, Worcestershire
*Whitaker, Rev. G. Queen's College, Cambridge
*Whorwood, Rev. T. Magd. College, Oxford
*Wickens, Rev. Henry, Margaretting
*Wilberforce, The Venerable Archdeacon
*Wilberforce, Rev. H. W. East Farleigh, Maidstone
*Wilkins, Venerable George, D.D. Archdeacon of Nottingham, Southwell
*Wilkins, Rev. J. M. Southwell, Notts.
*Wilkinson, Rev. M. Marlborough
*Wilkinson, Henry J. Esq. St. Mary Hall, Oxford
*Wilkinson, C. Esq. Trinity College, Cambridge
Williams, Rev. E. T. Mount Ballan, Chepstow
*Williams, M. D. Esq. Cwmcynfelin, Aberystwith
*Williams, Rev. T. E., D.D., Bucklebury, Berks
*Williams, Rev. H. G. Leamington
*Willis, Rev. T. Rayne, near Braintree
*Willis, Rev. W. D. Elstead Rectory, Sussex
*Willock, Rev. W. W. 5, Ardwick Grove, Manchester
*Wilshire, E. S. Esq. Worcester College, Oxford
*Wilson, Rev. Francis, Rugeley
*Wilson, Rev. J. Corpus Christi Coll Oxford
*Wilson, R. Esq. Magdalene Hall, Oxford
**Wilson, Rev. Robert, B.A. Bootle, Liverpool. Presented as a testimonial of regard from the congregation at St. Martin's, Liverpool
*Wilson, A. Esq. Balham, Surrey
*Wilson, Rev. T. Royton, Manchester
*Winchester Clerical Library
*Wither, Rev. H. I. B. Worthing, Hants
*Wither, Rev. W. H. W. Bigg, Otterborne, near Winchester
*Withers, Rev. George, Bishop's Coll. Calcutta
Wix, Rev. S. St. Bartholomew's Hospital
Wix, W. Esq. Tonbridge Wells
*Wix, Rev. Joseph, Littlebury, near Saffron Walden, Essex
Wollaston, Rev. T. S. St. Peter's College, Cambridge
*Wood, Rev. R.
*Wood, Rev. R. Orme, Mount Row, Guernsey
*Woodcock, H. Esq.
*Woodford, A. F. A. Esq. University College, Durham
*Woods, Rev. G. H. Westdean, Chichester
*Woodward, Rev. J. H. Bristol
*Woodward, Rev. F. B. Dublin
*Woolcombe, Rev. G. Dittisham, Torquay
*Woolcombe, Rev. L.
*Woollcombe, Rev. W. W. Exeter College Oxford
*Woolley, Rev. John, University Coll. Oxford
*Worcester College Library
**Wordsworth, Rev. Christopher, D.D. Prebendary of Westminster
*Wordsworth, Rev. Christopher, D.D. Buxted Parsonage, Uckfield, Sussex
*Wordsworth, Rev. C. Trinity College, Perth
*Worsley, Rev. J. H. Chalfont, St. Giles', Gerrard's Cross
*Worthy, Rev. C. Curate of St. David's, Exeter
*Wrench, Rev. J. G. D.C.L. Salehurst, Sussex

*Wrench, Rev. Frederick, Stowting, Kent
*Wright, H. Esq. Magdalene Hall, Oxford
*Wright, Rev. W. Colchester
*Wright, Rev. J. P.
Wrottesley, Rev. E. J. Tettinhall, Wolverhampton
*Wyatt, Rev. C. F. Ch. Ch. Oxford
*Wylie, R. Esq. Beverley
*Yard, Rev. G. B. Wragby, Lincolnshire
*Yates, Rev. W. St. Mary's, Reading
*Young, Rev. J. G. Leighterton Rectory, Dunkirk
*Young, Rev. R. G.
*Young, Rev. R. Riseley, Beds

Dickinson, F. H. Esq. M.P. £10. 10s. donation.
Evans, H. N. Esq. £5. 5s. donation.
J. H. £1. 1s. donation.
L. M. £1. 1s. donation.
M. A. F. £1. 1s. donation.

Library of the Fathers.

PUBLICATION OF THE ORIGINAL TEXTS.

The plan of publishing some at the least of the originals of the Fathers, whose works were translated in the "Library," has been steadily kept in view from the first, and Collations have now been obtained, at considerable expense, at Rome, Paris, Munich, Vienna, Florence, Venice, and the Editors have materials for the principal works of S. Chrysostom, for S. Cyril of Jerusalem, S. Macarius, Tertullian, and S. Augustine's Homilies on the Psalms. Collations are also being made for S. Gregory of Nyssa.

Of these, they have begun with S. Chrysostom on S. Paul, the Rev. F. Field, M.A. Trin. Coll. Cambridge, having united with them in this great task. He has already edited the Homilies on the 2nd Ep. to the Cor., is now carrying through the press those on the 1st Ep. (some of the materials for which arrived at a later period) and then intends to proceed to the Homilies on the Ep. to the Rom.

All the best MSS. known in Europe have been collated for this edition, and the text has been considerably improved, as that of the Homilies on S. Matthew had already been by the same Editor*. There is then every prospect that the English Edition of S. Chrysostom will be again the best extant.

All the extant European MSS. have likewise been collated for S. Cyril of Jerusalem and Tertullian. Of these S. Cyril is nearly ready for the press.

The publication of Tertullian has been delayed, because it was discovered that the result of the collations would be to make the text more genuine, yet more difficult than before. M. Heyse, who was collating for the Editors at Rome, being requested to search for the MS. or MSS. which F. Ursinus alleged that he had used, discovered the original papers of Ursinus, in which it appeared that the readings which Rigaltius adopted from him, were in fact only ingenious conjectures by Ursinus himself, which he gave out as collations of MSS. The Editor of the treatises of Tertullian already translated, being thus thrown back upon the older text, found reason to think that in those cases the readings, which Ursinus had corrected, although at first sight obscurer, were (he believes with one exception) the more genuine.

With regard to S. Augustine, there seemed reason to think that there was very little or nothing left to be done for the improvement of the text after the admirable labours of the Benedictines. Some collations which the Editors obtained, through their laborious Collator, from very ancient MSS. of his Epistles at Monte-Cassino, confirmed this impression. And this is again renewed by some Collations on the Psalms, which the same Scholar has made for them from a very ancient Codex rescriptus in the Vatican. Still, besides the improvement of the text of any Father, if possible, the Editors had the distinct object of making single valuable works accessible to Clergy who could not afford to purchase his whole works.

* Mr. Field's edition of the Homilies on S. Matthew is supplied to Subscribers to the Library at the same reduced rate as the other volumes.

They, therefore, propose to publish S. Augustine's Homilies on the Psalms, since they are not only a deep and valuable Commentary on a portion of Holy Scripture, which forms so large a part of our public devotions, but contain, perhaps, more of his practical theology and hints as to the inward spiritual life, than most of his works. Besides the above Vatican MS., Collations are being made of some of the Bodleian MSS., which have not been used, since even an occasional improvement of the collocation, or still more occasional of the text itself, is not without interest in a work of such exceeding value.

Large Collations had been made for S. Macarius, and it seemed almost ready for publication, when their indefatigable Collator, M. Heyse, discovered in the Vatican an entirely different recension. In accordance with the rules of the Vatican, access was, upon this, denied them to all MSS. whatever of S. Macarius, and the edition has consequently been, for the time, suspended.

For S. Gregory of Nyssa considerable preparations have been made, although nothing is yet ready for the press.

For these undertakings, the Editors have only their private resources, (any profits from the translations having been much more than absorbed by the Collations.) The present number of Subscribers to the original texts is only 416. Works printed in England have, owing to the expense of labour here, but a limited circulation abroad. If then it is wished that the publication of the originals should proceed more rapidly, there must be additional Subscribers.

BIBLIOTHECA PATRUM ECCLESIÆ CATHOLICÆ

QUI ANTE OCCIDENTIS ET ORIENTIS SCHISMA FLORUERUNT.

Price to Subscribers 7s. To Non-Subscribers 9s.

S. AUGUSTINI CONFESSIONES.

Price to Subscribers 10*s.* 6*d.* To Non-Subscribers 14*s.*

S. CHRYSOSTOMI Homiliæ in S. Pauli Epistolam *primam* ad Corinthios, Græce.

Price to Subscribers 8s. To Non-Subscribers 10s. 6d.

S. CHRYSOSTOMI HOMILIÆ in D. PAULI EPIST. II. ad CORINTHIOS.

Ad Fidem Codicum MSS. et Versionum Antiquarum diligenter castigata.

3 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 11s. 6d. To Non-Subscribers 2*l.* 2s.

S. JOANNIS CHRYSOSTOMI HOMILIÆ IN MATTHEUM.

Textum ad fidem codicum MSS. et versionum emendavit, præcipuum lectionis varietatem adscripsit, annotationibus ubi opus erat, et novis indicibus instruxit

F. FIELD, A.M. Coll. S.S. Trin. apud Cant. nuper Socius.

The remainder of the Text of S. Chrysostom's Homilies on S. Paul's Epistles will follow in due course; Collations having been obtained for the whole at considerable expense.

BOOKS PUBLISHED BY

Library of the Fathers

OF THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH,

ANTERIOR TO THE DIVISION OF THE EAST AND WEST.

TRANSLATED BY MEMBERS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

VOLUMES PUBLISHED.

8vo. Third Edition, price to Subscribers 7s. To Non-Subscribers 9s.
THE CONFESSIONS OF S. AUGUSTINE.

Two vols. 8vo. Price to Subscribers 20s. To Non-Subscribers 28s.
S. AUGUSTINE'S HOMILIES on the NEW TESTAMENT.

Two vols. 8vo. Price to Subscribers 15s. To Non-Subscribers 19s. 6d.
S. ATHANASIUS' SELECT TREATISES AGAINST THE ARIANS.

Price to Subscribers 8s. To Non-Subscribers 10s. 6d.
S. ATHANASIUS. HISTORICAL TRACTS.

Vols. 1 to 6, 8vo. Price to Subscribers 2l. 12s. 6d. To Non-Subscribers 3l. 9s. 6d.
S. CHRYSOSTOM'S HOMILIES ON ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.

Price to Subscribers 9s. To Non-Subscribers 12s.
S. CHRYSOSTOM'S HOMILIES ON THE STATUES.

Vols. 1 and 2. Price to Subscribers 18s. To Non-Subscribers 1l. 4s.
S. CHRYSOSTOM'S HOMILIES ON ST. MATTHEW.

Two vols. 8vo., Price to Subscribers 17s. To Non-Subscribers 1l. 2s. 6d.
S. CYPRIAN'S WORKS.

Third Edition. Price to Subscribers 8s. To Non-Subscribers 10s. 6d.
S. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM. Catechetical Lectures.

Vols. 1 and 2, Price to Subscribers 22s. To Non-Subscribers 30s.
S. GREGORY THE GREAT.
HOMILIES ON THE BOOK OF JOB.

Price to Subscribers 11s. To Non-Subscribers 15s.
TERTULLIAN'S WORKS. Vol. I.

Price to Subscribers 12s. To Non-Subscribers 16s.
S. AUGUSTINE. SHORT TREATISES.

Price to Subscribers 8s. To Non-Subscribers 10s. 6d.
S. AUGUSTINE ON THE PSALMS. Vol. I.

Price to Subscribers 8s. To Non-Subscribers 10s. 6d.
S. GREGORY THE GREAT.
HOMILIES ON THE BOOK OF JOB. Vol. III. Part 1.

8vo. 14s. to Subscribers to the Library of the Fathers, 10s. 6d.
SELECT WORKS OF S. EPHREM THE SYRIAN,
Translated out of the Original Syriac. With NOTES and INDICES.

Subscribers to this Work are entitled to the Volumes as they are published at one fourth less than the Publication price. Persons desirous of becoming Subscribers are requested to transmit their names and the name of their Bookseller to the Publisher, and the Volumes will be forwarded as soon as published.

*** *Complete sets may now be had by new Subscribers at the original Subscription prices.*

A COMMENTARY on the FOUR GOSPELS, collected out of the WORKS of the FATHERS, translated from the CATENA AUREA of THOMAS AQUINAS. 4 vols. in 8 parts, 3*l.* 17*s.*

THE HOLY EUCHARIST A COMFORT TO THE PENITENT. A SERMON preached before the University of Oxford, on the Fourth Sunday after Easter, 1843. By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Canon of Ch. Ch., late Fellow of Oriel College. 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

THE ENTIRE ABSOLUTION OF THE PENITENT. Two SERMONS preached before the University of Oxford, 1846. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* *By the same Author.*

A COURSE of SERMONS on SOLEMN SUBJECTS, chiefly bearing on Repentance and Amendment of Life, preached in St. SAVIOUR'S CHURCH, LEEDS, during the Week after its Consecration, the Feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, 1845. By the Rev. W. DODSWORTH, M.A., Rev. JOHN KEBLE, M.A., Rev. C. MARRIOTT, M.A., Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Rev. W. U. RICHARDS, M.A., Rev. ISAAC WILLIAMS, B.D. *Second Edition,* 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR. Thoughts in Verse for the Sundays and Holydays throughout the Year. *The Twenty-ninth Edition.* 32mo. 3*s.* 6*d.* *cloth,* 5*s.* *morocco.* Foolscap 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.* *cloth,* 10*s.* 6*d.* *morocco.*

LYRA INNOCENTIUM, or Thoughts in Verse on the Ways of Providence towards Little Children. By the Author of the Christian Year. *Third Edition,* foolscap 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.* *cloth,* 10*s.* 6*d.* *morocco,* 32mo. 3*s.* 6*d.* *cloth,* 5*s.* *morocco.*

THE CATHEDRAL, OR THE CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN ENGLAND. Thoughts in Verse on Ecclesiastical Subjects, selected and arranged to correspond with the different parts of a Gothic Cathedral. *Fourth Edition,* small 8vo. 7s. 6*d.* *cloth,* 10*s.* 6*d.* *morocco.* Illustrated by Engravings.

THE BAPTISTERY, OR THE WAY OF ETERNAL LIFE. By the Author of the Cathedral. *Third Edition,* 8vo. 15*s.* *cloth,* 1*l.* 1*s.* *morocco.* 32mo. 3*s.* 6*d.* *cloth,* 5*s.* *morocco.*

OFFICIUM EUCHARISTICUM. A Preparatory Service to a Devout and Worthy Reception of the LORD'S SUPPER. By EDWARD LAKE, D.D. *The 32nd Edition,* with the COMMUNION SERVICE. 32*mo.*, 3*s.* 6*d.* *cloth,* 5*s.* *morocco.*

BISHOP WILSON ON THE LORD'S SUPPER. Reprinted ENTIRE from the folio Edition. 32*mo.* 2*s.* *cloth,* 2*s.* 6*d.* *roan,* 3*s.* *morocco,* *handsomely printed, with the Rubrics in red.* [The above may be had in a variety of handsome bindings, from 5*s.* upwards.]

Also, a cheaper Edition for PAROCHIAL DISTRIBUTION, &c. 1*s.* *cloth,* 1*s.* 6*d.* *roan,* (with a liberal allowance to Clergy.)

PATRES ECCLESIÆ ANGLICANÆ,

EDIDIT J. A. GILES, LL.D., Coll. Corp. Christ. Oxon. olim Socius.

The names of Aldhelm, Bede, Duns Scotus, Boniface, Alcuin, St. Dunstan, Elfric, Lanfranc, Anselm, Becket, Gilbert of London, John of Salisbury, Peter of Blois, and Roger Bacon, are for the most part familiar to the world: but how few are acquainted with their writings! and yet these are the most authentic documents of our early history. Not a tenth part of these works has ever been published in this country.

The following Works have already been published in this series:

ALDHELMI EP. SARISB. OPERA. 10s. 6d.

Aldhelm was the first Bishop of Salisbury, from 705 to 709. His works are short and not numerous, but possess interest from their being the first specimens which English literature has produced.

BEDÆ VENERABILIS OPERA. 12 vols. 6*l.*

Of Bede's voluminous writings it is unnecessary here to speak. His Ecclesiastical History and Historical Tracts are the most valuable; but his scientific works are also of great interest, as shewing the state of science in the eighth century. He lived from 673 to 735.

S. BONIFACII PAPÆ OPERA. 2 vols. 1*l.* 1s.

The celebrated Apostle of Germany and Archbishop of Mayence. His letters to his friends in England are the most interesting memorials of the age in which he lived. He was a few years later than Venerable Bede.

LANFRANCI OPERA. 2 vols. 1*l.* 1s.

The first Archbishop of Canterbury after the Conquest. The letters of Lanfranc give us a lively picture of the state of things in the reign of William the Conqueror.

ARNULFI EPISTOLÆ. 10s. 6d.

S. THOMÆ A BECKET OPERA. 8 vols. 8vo. 4*l.* 16s.

A most extensive collection of contemporary lives of Becket, and of letters which passed between him and the most noted characters of his day.

PETRI BLESENSIS OPERA. 4 vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 8s.

Peter of Blois was Archdeacon of Bath: he spoke the truth at a time when it was perilous so to do. His *Letters*, Sermons, and Moral Tracts, are too valuable to be omitted in this series.

And there remain still to be published,

ALCUIN, DUNSTAN, ANSELM, and JOHN OF SALISBURY.

ALANI PRIORIS CANTUAR. POSTEA ABBATIS TEWKESBERIENSIS SCRIPTA QUÆ EXTANT. 8vo. 6s.

GALFRIDI LE BAKER DE SWINBROKE, CHRONICON ANGLIÆ TEMPORIBUS EDW. II. ET EDW. III. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

CHRONICON ANGLIÆ PETRIBURGENSE. 8vo. 8s.

BOOKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED

BY JOHN HENRY PARKER, OXFORD.

Editio tertia, subinde emendata, 2 *vols.* 8*vo.* 1*l.* 1*s.*

HERODOTUS,

Edidit THOMAS GAISFORD, S.T.P., Gr. Ling. Prof. Reg.

New Edition, 2 *vols.* 8*vo.* 1*l.* 8*s.*

LARCHER'S NOTES ON HERODOTUS.

With Corrections and Additions, by WM. DESBOROUGH COOLEY, Esq.,
Author of "Maritime and Inland Discovery," &c.

3 *vols.* 8*vo.* 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

LIVII HISTORIA,

Ex Recensione Crevierii et Drakenborchii.

4 *vols.* 8*vo.* 2*l.* 8*s.*

THE HISTORY OF ROME BY TITUS LIVIUS,

With English Notes, Marginal References, and Various Readings,
By C. W. STOCKER, D.D.,
Formerly Fellow of St. John's College, and late Professor of Moral Philosophy
in the University of Oxford.

New Edition, with additional Notes and Maps, 3 *vols.* 8*vo.* 1*l.* 10*s.*

THUCYDIDES,

With Notes, chiefly Historical and Geographical,
By THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D., late Head Master of Rugby School.

2 *vols.* 8*vo.* *Price* 1*l.* 10*s.*

A GRAMMAR OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE,

Chiefly from the German of RAPHAEL KUHNER.
By WILLIAM EDWARD JELF, B.D., Student of Christ Church.

8*vo.* 8*s.*

ÆSCHYLI EUMENIDES.

Ad Codd. MSS. fidem recognovit et notis maximam partem criticis instruxit
GULIELMUS LINWOOD, M.A., Ædis Christi Alumnus.
Accedunt Viri Summe Reverendi C. J. BLOMFIELDII, S.T.P. Notæ MS.
et aliorum selectæ.

2 *vols.* 8*vo.* 1*l.* 8*s.* *cloth lettered,*

SOPHOCLIS TRAGŒDIÆ.

With Notes adapted to the use of Schools and Universities,
By T. MITCHELL, A.M., late Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE the UNIVERSITY of OXFORD. By EDWARD HENRY MANNING, M.A., Archdeacon of Chichester, and late Fellow of Merton College. Second Edition. 8vo. 6*s*.

SERMONS ON THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS AND OTHERS. By the Rev. T. W. ALLIES, M.A., Rector of Launton, Oxon, late Fellow of Wadham College, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of London. 8vo. 10*s*. 6*d*.

SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE the UNIVERSITY of OXFORD, and in OTHER PLACES. By the Rev. C. MARRIOTT, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, and late Principal of the Diocesan College at Chichester. 12mo. 6*s*.

SERMONS ON THE FESTIVALS. By the Rev. J. ARMSTRONG, B.A., Priest-Vicar of Exeter Cathedral, and Rector of St. Paul's. 12mo. 6*s*.

The TEMPORAL PUNISHMENT OF SIN, and other SERMONS. By the Rev. C. H. MONSELL, M.A., of Worcester College, Oxford, Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of Limerick. 12mo. 6*s*.

PAROCHIAL SERMONS. By the Rev. W. JACOBSON, M.A., Vice-Principal of Magdalen Hall. Second Edition. 12mo. 6*s*.

SERMONS chiefly Expository by R. E. TYRWHITT, M.A., E. I. Company's Assistant Chaplain in the Diocese of Bombay, sometime of the Diocese of Salisbury, and formerly of Brasenose College, Oxford. With Notes. In Two Volumes 8vo. £1. 4*s*.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE MEANS OF GRACE, their Mutual Connection and Combined Use, with Especial Reference to the Church of England; in EIGHT SERMONS preached before the University of Oxford, at CANON BAMPTON'S LECTURE, 1844. By R. W. JELF, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and Principal of King's College, London; formerly Fellow of Oriel College. 8vo. 10*s*. 6*d*.

THE WITNESS OF THE SPIRIT WITH OUR SPIRIT. Illustrated from the eighth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: in EIGHT SERMONS preached before the University of Oxford in the year M.DCCC XLVI. at the Lecture founded by the Rev. J. BAMPTON, M.A., late Canon of Salisbury. By the Rev. AUGUSTUS SHORT, B.D., Vicar of Ravensthorpe, and late Student of Christ Church, Bishop of Adelaide. 8vo. 7*s*. 6d.

LECTURES ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE THREE FIRST CENTURIES. By the late EDWARD BURTON, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, &c. Third Edition, complete in one volume 8vo. 15*s*.

NEW EDITION OF JEREMY TAYLOR'S WORKS.

Price 10*s.* 6*d.*, 8*vo. cloth*, Vol. II., *being the first in the order of publication, of*

BISHOP JEREMY TAYLOR'S ENTIRE WORKS: with his Life by Bishop Heber. A New Edition, revised and corrected by the Rev. CHARLES PAGE EDEN, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. In 12 vols. The present volume contains the Life of Christ, complete.

*** The succeeding volumes are intended to be published at intervals of about two months, terminating with Vol. I., which will contain the Life. The Prospectus may be obtained of the Proprietors, and all other Booksellers.

DISCOURSES ON PROPHECY, in which are considered its Structure, Use, and Inspiration. By the Rev. J. DAVISON, B.D., late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. Fourth Edition, 8vo. 12*s.*

REMARKS ON BAPTISMAL REGENERATION. By the same Author. 8vo. cloth, 2*s.* 6*d.*

THE ENGLISH THEOLOGICAL WORKS OF G. BULL, D.D., sometime Lord Bishop of St. David's. A new Edition, 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

THE HARMONY OF THE APOSTLES ST. PAUL AND ST. JAMES ON JUSTIFICATION. Translated from the Latin. Also by the same Author. A new Edition. 2 vols. 8vo. 18*s.*

A Dissertation on the VALIDITY of ENGLISH ORDINATIONS. By P. F. LE COURAYER. A new Edition. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

THE DEFINITIONS OF FAITH, and Canons of Discipline of the Six Œcumenical Councils, with the remaining Canons of the Code of the Universal Church. Translated, with Notes. To which are added, THE APOSTOLICAL CANONS. By the Rev. W. ANDREW HAMMOND, M.A., of Ch. Ch., Oxford. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

THE GREEK TEXT OF THE APOSTOLICAL CANONS. With the English Translation, by JOHN JOHNSON, M.A. 8vo. 2*s.*

ANALECTA CHRISTIANA, in usum tironum edidit et annotationibus illustravit C. MARRIOTT, A.M. 8vo. 5s. Part I.

PRÆLECTIONES ACADEMICÆ OXONII HABITÆ, a JOANNE KEBLE, A.M., Poeticæ Publico Prælectore. 2 vols. 8vo. 21*s.*

In the Press.

ACADEMICAL AND OCCASIONAL SERMONS. With a Preface on the Present Position of the English Church. By the Rev. JOHN KEBLE, M.A.

In the Press.

SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY of OXFORD. By the Rev. ARTHUR PENRYN STANLEY, M.A., Fellow of University College.

THE PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN'S LIBRARY;

A SERIES OF CHEAP PUBLICATIONS, FOR GENERAL CIRCULATION.

	s.	d.
1. Learn to Die.—[Sutton.]	1	0
2. Practice of Divine Love.—[Ken.]	0	9
3. Private Devotions.—[Spinckes.]	1	6
4. Parable of the Pilgrim.—[Patrick.]	1	0
5. The Imitation of Christ.—[à Kempis.]	1	0
6. Manual of Prayer for the Young.—[Ken.]	0	6
7. Guide to the Holy Communion.—[Nelson.]	0	8
8. Guide to the Penitent.—[Kettlewell.]	0	9
9. The Golden Grove.—[Taylor.]	0	9
10. Daily Exercises.—[Horneck.]	0	9
11. Life of Ambrose Bonwicke	1	0
12. Plain Sermons.—[Andrewes.]	2	0
13. Life of Bishop Bull.—[Nelson.]	1	6
14. Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell.—[Bp. Taylor.]	0	9
15. Companion to the Prayer Book	1	0
16. Christian Contentment.—[Sanderson.]	0	9
17. Steps to the Altar	0	9
18. Selections from Hooker.—[Keble.]	1	6
19. Advice to a Friend.—[Patrick.]	1	6
20. Repentance and Fasting.—[Patrick.]	1	6
21. On Prayer.—[Patrick.]	2	0
22. Practical Christian, Part I.—[Sherlock.]	2	0
23. ——— ——— Part II.—[Sherlock.]	2	0
24. Meditations on the Eucharist.—[Sutton.]	1	6
25. Learn to Live.—[Sutton.]	2	0
26. The Art of Contentment	2	0
27. Meditations for a Fortnight.—[Gerhard.]	0	9
28. The Heart's Ease.—[Patrick.]	1	6
29. Doctrine of the English Church.—[Heylin.]	0	8
30. Manual for Confirmation and First Communion	0	6
31. Hymns for Public and Private Use	2	0
32. The Young Churchman's Manual	1	0
33. The Seven Penitential Psalms	1	0
34. Cosin's Devotions	1	0
35. Holy Living.—[Bp. Taylor.]	2	0

In the Press.

Holy Dying.—[Bp. Taylor.]

Confessions of St. Augustine.

CHEAP BOOKS FOR PAROCHIAL USE.

	s.	d.
Acland's Liturgia Domestica	2	0
Berens' History of the Prayer Book	2	6
Beveridge's Sermons on the Church	3	0
Beveridge on the Catechism	1	6
Cotton's Explanation of Obsolete Words in the Bible	0	9
Hammond's Paræsis, with a Discourse of Heresy in Defence of our Church against the Romanist	1	6
Henry Vernon, or the Little Anglo-Indian, with 4 woodcuts	0	9
Little Mary. Second Edition, with 4 woodcuts	0	9
Henshaw's Meditations, Miscellaneous, Holy, and Humane	1	0
Laud on the Liturgy	2	0
Service for the Visitation of the Sick, with Additional Prayers	3	0
Sherlock on the Catechism	0	9
Sparrow's Rationale on the Book of Common Prayer	2	6
Spelman's Rights of Churches	1	6
The Seven Penitential Psalms, per dozen	2	0
Thorndike's Rights of the Church	4	0
Vincent of Lerins against Heresy	1	6
Williams's Meditations and Prayers on the Way of Eternal Life, Nine Numbers, each	1	0
Wilson's Sacra Privata (entire)	1	6
Winslow's Remains, or the Catholic Churchman in his Life and Death	4	0
Wither's Select Hymns of the Church	1	0

DEVOTIONS. By the Right Rev. Father in God LAUNCELOT ANDREWES. Translated from the Greek, and arranged anew. Foolscap 8vo. 5*s.*, morocco 7*s.* 6*d.*

LETTERS FROM A TUTOR TO HIS PUPILS. By W. JONES, M.A., F.R.S., sometime Perpetual Curate of Nayland, Suffolk. *A New Edition*, edited by the Rev. E. COLERIDGE, M.A., Eton College. 18mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*, morocco 5*s.*

BISHOP WILSON ON THE LORD'S SUPPER. Reprinted entire from the folio Edition. 32*mo.* 2*s.* *cloth*, 2*s.* 6*d.* *roan*, 3*s.* *morocco*, *handsomely printed, with the Rubrics in red.* [The above may be had in a variety of handsome bindings, from 5*s.* upwards.]

Also, a cheaper Edition for Parochial Distribution, &c. 1*s.* *cloth*, 1*s.* 6*d.* *roan*, (with a liberal allowance to Clergy.)

PUBLICATIONS OF THE OXFORD ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY.

A GUIDE TO THE ARCHITECTURAL ANTIQUITIES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF OXFORD. 8vo., illustrated with 380 Woodcuts, price 18s.

REMARKS ON ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTER, as applied to Ordinary Parish Churches. By the Rev. J. L. PETIT, M.A. 8vo. with two etchings. 1s.

LITTLEMORE CHURCH.—Working Drawings of Littlemore Church, Oxfordshire. By J. UNDERWOOD, Esq., Architect. 5s. Folio, *Second edition*, with the designs of the painted glass windows.

SHOTTESBROKE CHURCH.—Views, Elevations, Sections, and Details of Shottesbroke Church, near Maidenhead, Berkshire. A good and pure specimen of the Decorated Style. By WILLIAM BUTTERFIELD, Esq. Folio, 5s.

WILCOTE CHURCH.—Views, Elevations, and Sections of Wilcote Church, Oxfordshire. A small Church in the Decorated Style. By CHARLES BUCKLER, Esq., Architect. Folio, 3s. 6d.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S CHAPEL.—Views, Elevations, and Sections of St. Bartholomew's Chapel, Oxford. By C. CRANSTOUN, Esq., Architect. Folio, 3s. 6d.

DORCHESTER ABBEY CHURCH.—A Memoir of the Church and Abbey at Dorchester, Oxfordshire. By the Rev. HENRY ADDINGTON, B.A. 8vo. illustrated by numerous woodcuts, 8s.

WORKING DRAWINGS, ONE SHILLING EACH SHEET.

ANCIENT PEWS OR OPEN SEATS.—Headington, Oxon; Haseley, Oxon; Steeple-Aston, Oxon; Stanton Harcourt and Ensham, Oxon; Great Chalfield, Wilts; Littlemore, Oxon.

PATTERNS OF TWENTY-FOUR STANDARDS OR BENCH-ENDS, from Steeple-Aston Church, Oxon, by John Plowman, Esq., Architect.

STALL AND DESK in the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick; Talland Church, Cornwall; Beverley Minster; Choir, All-Saints, Wakefield; FINIAL, Postling, Kent.

ANCIENT STONE DESK in Crowle Church, near Worcester.

ANCIENT REREDOS OF AN ALTAR in St. Michael's Church, Oxford.

NORMAN FONT, Laneast Church, Cornwall; Newenden Church, Kent.

SPECIMENS OF THE TRACERY OF WINDOWS, from sketches by the late Mr. Rickman. Nine on a sheet.

PULPITS.—Wolvercot, Oxfordshire, Perpendicular, wood; Beaulieu, Hampshire, Early Decorated, stone; St. Giles's, Oxford, Late Decorated, wood; with Coombe, Oxfordshire, Perpendicular, stone.

SCREENS. — Dorchester, Oxon, Decorated; Stanton Harcourt, Oxon, Early English.

Members of other Architectural Societies in connection with the Oxford Society are entitled to these Publications at the Members' prices, and can obtain them by order through their respective booksellers.

Royal 8vo., price, in cloth boards, 10s. 6d., or fully bound in morocco, with the larger illustrations tinted, 31s. 6d.

MONUMENTAL BRASSES AND SLABS: or an Historical and Descriptive Notice of the Incised Monumental Memorials of the Middle Ages. By the Rev. CHARLES BOUTELL, M.A.

A CONCISE GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED IN GRECIAN, ROMAN, ITALIAN AND GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE. Illustrated by Four Hundred and Forty Examples. In one volume, 12mo. 7s. 6d.

A GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED IN BRITISH HERALDRY. 8vo. with Seven Hundred Woodcuts, 16s.

ANGLICAN CHURCH ARCHITECTURE, with some Remarks upon Ecclesiastical Furniture. By JAMES BARR, Architect. Illustrated by one hundred and thirty examples. The *third edition*, revised and enlarged, 12mo. 5s.

AN ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION OF ST. LEONARD'S CHURCH, KIRKSTEAD, Lincolnshire. Published under the superintendence of the Lincolnshire Architectural Society, with illustrations by F. Mackenzie and O. Jewitt. Small folio, 10s.

PRIMEVAL ANTIQUITIES. The olden times of Denmark and England, illustrated by Antiquities found in Grave-hills, or Barrows. By J. J. A. WARSAAE, of Copenhagen, with numerous additions and illustrations of similar remains in England. 8vo. *In the Press.*

AN INQUIRY INTO THE DIFFERENCE OF STYLE OBSERVABLE IN ANCIENT PAINTED GLASS, with Hints on Glass Painting, by an AMATEUR. Illustrated by numerous Coloured Plates from Ancient Examples. 2 vols. 8vo. £1. 10s.

AN ATTEMPT TO DISCRIMINATE THE STYLES OF ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND. By the late THOMAS RICKMAN, F.S.A. *Fifth edition.* With numerous engravings on steel and wood, of the best examples, drawn by Mackenzie, engraved by Le Keux and Jewitt. 8vo. *In the Press.*

REMARKS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE, as applied to Ordinary Parish Churches. Read before the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, at their Meeting, March, 1846. By the Rev. JOHN LEWIS PETIT, M.A.

CHURCHES in the ARCHDEACONRY of NORTHAMPTON. Nos. I. to VIII. Proofs, 3s. 6d.; plain, 2s. 6d. Continued on the 1st of each alternate month.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL. By the Rev. Professor WILLIS, M.A., F.R.S., &c. 8vo. with 52 Woodcuts, 10s. 6d.

PRAYERS AND OTHER DEVOTIONS FOR PENITENTS, Compiled by the Rev. J. LEY, B.D., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. 18mo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

THE HOLY EUCHARIST A COMFORT TO THE PENITENT. A SERMON preached before the University of Oxford, on the Fourth Sunday after Easter, 1843. By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Canon of Ch. Ch., late Fellow of Oriel College. 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

THE ENTIRE ABSOLUTION OF THE PENITENT. Two SERMONS preached before the University of Oxford, 1846. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* *By the same Author.*

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR. Thoughts in Verse for the Sundays and Holydays throughout the Year. *The Twenty-ninth Edition.* 32mo. 3*s.* 6*d.* *cloth,* 5*s.* *morocco.* Foolscap 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.* *cloth,* 10*s.* 6*d.* *morocco.*

LYRA INNOCENTIUM, or Thoughts in Verse on the Ways of Providence towards Little Children. By the Author of the Christian Year. *Third Edition,* foolscap 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.* *cloth,* 10*s.* 6*d.* *morocco,* 32mo. 3*s.* 6*d.* *cloth,* 5*s.* *morocco.*

THE CATHEDRAL, OR THE CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN ENGLAND. Thoughts in Verse on Ecclesiastical Subjects, selected and arranged to correspond with the different parts of a Gothic Cathedral. *Fourth Edition,* small 8vo. 7s. 6*d.* *cloth,* 10*s.* 6*d.* *morocco.* Illustrated by Engravings.

THE BAPTISTERY, OR THE WAY OF ETERNAL LIFE. By the Author of the Cathedral. *Third Edition,* 8vo. 15*s.* *cloth,* 1*l.* 1*s.* *morocco.* 32mo. 3*s.* 6*d.* *cloth,* 5*s.* *morocco.*

Some MEDITATIONS and PRAYERS selected from The Way of Eternal Life, in order to illustrate and explain the Pictures by Boetius a Bolswert, for the same Work. Translated from the Latin, and adapted to the use of the English Church by the Rev. ISAAC WILLIAMS, B.D. of Trinity College, Oxford, Author of "The Baptistery." 1 vol. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.* with numerous Engravings.

OFFICIUM EUCHARISTICUM. A Preparatory Service to a Devout and Worthy Reception of the Lord's Supper. By Edward Lake, D.D. *The 32nd Edition,* with the COMMUNION SERVICE. 32*mo.*, 3*s.* 6*d.* *cloth,* 5*s.* *morocco.*

CONTENTS OF VOLS. I. II. AND III,

Price 11*s. each, in cloth boards,*

OF THE

Archaeological Journal.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION

OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

OF THE

Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland

FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION

OF RESEARCHES INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS

OF

The Early and Middle Ages.

Illustrated by Four Hundred and Sixty-two Engravings on Wood, Copper, and Steel.

CONTINUED IN QUARTERLY NUMBERS, PRICE 2*s.* 6*d.* EACH.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED AT THE OFFICE OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, 12, HAYMARKET.

SOLD BY JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE ST.; LONGMAN & Co., PATERNOSTER ROW;
W. PICKERING, PICCADILLY; AND G. BELL, FLEET STREET.
OXFORD: I. H. PARKER. CAMBRIDGE: DEIGHTONS.
PARIS: DIDRON.—LEIPSIC: WEIGEL.

This Periodical gives the earliest announcement of all Archaeological discoveries, of new publications, and works in preparation. It is proposed to give from time to time Elementary Essays on all subjects of Archaeological research, so as to supply a series of Manuals for every department of Antiquarian investigation.

Communications are requested to be addressed to the Editor, T. Hudson Turner, Esq., 12, Haymarket.

PRIMEVAL.

On the Primeval Antiquities of the Channel Islands, by F. C. Lukis, Esq.

On the Cromlechs extant in the Isle of Anglesey, by the Rev. H. Longueville Jones.

On some British Kistvaens at Pytchley, Northamptonshire, by the Rev. Abner W. Brown.

On the Torc of the Celts, by S. Birch, Esq.

On the Kimmeridge Coal Money, by John Sydenham, Esq.

Dietrich's Runic Dictionary, reviewed.

Worsaae's Antiquities and Grave hills of Denmark, reviewed.

Illustrations.

Spear-head Mold and Celt Mold, found in the Isle of Anglesea.

Turbinated-shaped ball, discovered at Allington Hill.

Cromlech, at Catioroc, Jersey.

Cromlech at L'ancresse, Guernsey.

Cromlech at La Mare aux Mauves, L'ancresse.

Vases, &c. found in Cromlechs in the Channel Islands.

Interior of Cromlech, L'ancresse, Guernsey.

Position of Vase, Cromlech, L'ancresse.

Position of Vase and Bones in Cromlech.

Grinding-trough and stone implements in Cromlech.

Jars, &c., interior of Cromlech.

Cromlechs at Plas Newydd, Llanfaelog, and Presaddfed, Anglesey.

Spear-head and Urn, from Barrows in Derbyshire.

Quiver, in fine gold, dicovered near Poitiers.

Section of Barrows in Bourne Park, Kent.

Plan of Grave in Barrow.

Bucket, &c. found in Grave.

Skeleton found in Dale Park, Sussex.

Earthen Vase discovered near North Walsham, Norfolk.

Urn-shaped vessel, &c., discovered at Bernaldby Moor, Yorkshire.

Vases from a Barrow near Wimborne, Dorsetshire.

Hook-shaped Bronze Implement, found near Ballygawley, Tyrone, Ireland.

Singular crescent-formed relic, found at Aughnacloy, Tyrone.

Three Spear-heads, 1. found near Ballygawley, 2. at Peel, Isle of Man, 3. in the bed of the Severn, near Worcester.

Crosses at Carew and Nevern, South Wales.

Runic Cross at Lancaster, and Inscription.

Early British Vases from Furness.

Early British Sword of bronze and Stone axe, found in South Wales.

Torques of the Celts; fourteen examples:

Persian bearing Torques.

Head of Persian with Torques.

As of Ariminum.

Denarius of the Manlia Family.

Gaulish Coin.

Medallet temp. Domitian.

Heads of Barbarians with Torques.

Monument of M. Cœlius at Dusseldorf.

Rope trimmed as a Torques.

Torques with solid cylindrical ends.

Torques found at Boyton and Tara.

Torques found in Mecklenburgh.

Javelin with loop.

Bronze pin with cup-shaped head.

Iron Arrow-heads, Bone Arrow-head, Tweezers, and Bronze Pin, found at Woodperry, Oxfordshire.

Views and Plan of Towyn-y-Capel, near Holyhead, with Chapel.

"Penffestyn," or British Head-piece.

Enamelled Bead, found near Oxford.

Ancient Boat found in the barony of Farney, Ireland.

Hammer-head found near Lough Fea, Ireland.

ROMAN.

On Roman London, by C. R. Smith, Esq., F.S.A.

On a Roman Villa discovered at Bisley, Gloucestershire, by Thomas Baker, Esq.

Notice of a Roman Villa at Wheatley near Oxford, by W. Bromet, M.D., and the Very Rev. W. Buckland, D.D., Dean of Westminster.

Notice of an Anglo-Roman Sarcophagus discovered in Hertfordshire, by Samuel Birch, Esq., F.S.A.

Icenia; notices of Roman Remains and evidences of occupation in Norfolk, by the Rev. J. Gunn.

Wellbeloved's Eburacum or York under the Romans, reviewed.

Lee's Roman Antiquities found at Caerleon, reviewed.

Bernan's History of the art of Warming and Ventilating Rooms—Roman period, reviewed.

Maitland's Church in the Catàcombs of Rome, reviewed.

Illustrations.

Romano-British urns, and other vessels, discovered at Saffron Walden, Essex.

Plan of supposed Roman Masonry in a cellar at Leicester.

Roman milestone dug up near Leicester.

Jewry Wall, Leicester.

Plan of Chambers of Roman Villa, discovered at Bisley, Gloucestershire.—Roman Hexagonal Tile.

Anglo-Roman Sarcophagus found near Harpenden, Hertfordshire.

——Præfericulum of green glass, and Patera of red ware, found at Harpenden.

—— Globular Urn found at Harpenden.

—— Vase found on Lincoln Heath.

Golden Fibula, found at Odiham, Hampshire.

Late Roman Vases at Tubney, Berkshire.

Roman Urns, at Felmingham, Suffolk.

Roman Gold Rings.

Roman Villa at Wheatley, Oxfordshire—General View.

—— Foundation Tiles—Plan and Sections.

—— Section and Plan of Hypocaust.

—— Cistern and Flues.

—— General Plan.

Votive Altar and inscribed Tablet found at Tynemouth.

ARCHITECTURE. (ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD.)

On Anglo-Saxon Architecture, by T. Wright, Esq., F.S.A.
On Ancient mixed masonry of brick and stone, by Matthew Holbeche Bloxam, Esq.
On some Anomalies observable in the earlier styles of English Architecture, by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne.
On Stanton Lacy Church, Shropshire, by the Rev. J. L. Petit.
On Ancient Oratories in Cornwall, by the Rev. W. Haslam.
Observations on the Crypt of Hexham Church, Northumberland, by T. Hudson Turner, Esq.

Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Ireland, Petrie's, reviewed.
Ancient Architecture of Ireland, Wilkinson's, reviewed.

Illustrations.

Anglo-Saxon Arcade, MS. Cotton, Claud. B. iv.--Arches, ib. Pillar, ib.--Baluster Column, ib.—Belfry-window, Earl's Barton, Northamptonshire.—St. Benet's, Cambridge.—Triangular-headed Doorway, MS. Cotton.—Double Arch, ib.--Triangular Tympanum, ib.--Doorway, Barnack.—Belfry-window, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire.—Sompting, Sussex.—Capitals of Columns, ib.—Foliated Capital, Sompting Church, Sussex.—Arch, Corhampton, Hants.—Belfry window, Northleigh Church, Oxon.

Ancient Oratories of Cornwall.
—— Oratory of St. Piran.—Ground Plan.—Doorway.—East Window.
—— St. Gwythian—Ground Plan.
—— St. Maddern—Ground Plan and Well, and Altar.

Crypt of Hexham Church, Northumberland—Roman Mouldings; and Ground Plan
Towers, Sompting, Sussex, and Earl's Barton, Northamptonshire.
Impost, St. Benet's, Cambridge.
Stanton Lacy Church, Shropshire; view, elevation, and Head of Chancel-door.

Ireland—Round Tower on Devenish Island, Lough Erne.
Fineen's Church at Clonmacnoise.
House of St. Finan Cam.
Oratory of Gallerus.
Doorway of the Church of St. Fechin.
Windows of the Church of the Trinity at Glendalough, and of St. Cronan's Church.
St. Mac Dara's Church, Connamara.
Doorway of the Round Tower of Timahoe.
Church of Cormac, Cashel.
North Doorway of the Church of Cormac.
Base and Window of ditto, and Window in the Round Tower of Timahoe.
Doorway of Tower of Donoughmore.
Section of Floor in the Round Tower of Meelick.
Round Tower, and Crypt of St. Kevin.
Battlement, Abbey of Jerpoint.
Doorway, &c. of Domestic Building, Galway.

Isle of Man.—Round Tower, Peel Castle.
Masonry of Round Tower.
Masonry of a building on the south side of Round Tower.

ARCHITECTURE. (NORMAN PERIOD.)

On Medieval Antiquities and Churches in the Isle of Anglesey, by the Rev. H. L. Jones.

Shobdon Church, Herefordshire, by T. Wright, Esq., F.S.A.

Willis's History of Canterbury Cathedral, reviewed.

Illustrations.

Penmôn Priory Church, near Beaumaris. Font, and Water Stoup. Compartment of Font. West Door. Inscription to St. Sadwrn.
Font, Llan Jestyn, Anglesey.
Plan of Llanfihangel Church.
East Window, and details, of Llan Tysilio Church.
Llanfihangel and Llan Tysilio Churches.
Shobdon Church, Herefordshire—Shaft of scroll-work, with capital—Figures of Welsh Knights—Compartment of Pillar.
Ruins of St. Clement's Church, Worcester.
Canterbury Cathedral :—
Part of the Crypt, &c.—Arches in South Aisle—Capital of Choir. Column in Crypt—Compartment of the Corona.
Arcade, St. Peter's, Northampton.
East end of Darent Church, Kent.
West front of St. Mary's Church, Portchester, A.D. 1133—1153
Site and Fragments of the Ancient Church, Woodperry, Oxfordshire.
"Joggled"-work, Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire.
Long Wittenham, Berkshire, the Font.
Warwick—St. Mary's Church, Crypt.
—— Section of Pier and Capitals in Crypt.
Door, Stanton Lacy, Shropshire.
Windows, Headbourn Worthy, Hampshire, and Oxford Castle.
*Sculptured Capitals discovered in St. Alkmund's Church, Derby (Glyphographic representations.)
Capital and Base of Pillar, in S. Walderich's chapel, at Murrhard, Germany.

GOTHIC STYLES.

On the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Isle of Man. } By the Rev.
On Tong Church, Shropshire. } J. L. Petit.

On the Remains of Thornton Abbey, Lincolnshire. } By I. H.
On Merton College Chapel, Oxford. } Parker.
On Long Wittenham Church, Berkshire. }

On the Medieval Antiquities of Paris, by the Rev. H. L. Jones.

On some Remains of the Work of William of Wykeham in Windsor Castle, by E. Blore, Esq.

On the Franciscan Friery, Reading, by John Billing, Esq.

On St. Winifred's Well, Flintshire, by A. Poynter, Esq.

On Acton Burnel Castle, Shropshire, Rev. C. H. Hartshorne.

Beck's Antiquities of Furness Abbey, reviewed.
Buckler's Remarks on the Chantry on Wakefield Bridge, reviewed.
Churches of Warwickshire, Nos. 1, 2, reviewed.
Northamptonshire Churches, No. 1, reviewed.
Monastic Ruins of Yorkshire, Nos. 1, 2, reviewed.
De Caumont, Bulletin Monumental, reviewed.
Guilhabaud's Ancient and Modern Architecture, reviewed.
Manuals of Gothic Architecture, reviewed.
Brandon's Analysis of Gothic Architecture, reviewed.
Heideloff's Collection of Architectural Ornaments, reviewed.

ARCHITECTURE. (EARLY ENGLISH STYLE.)

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Thornton Abbey, Lincolnshire, details of Window and Chapter-House.

—— North-east Bay of Chapter-House.

Corbel-table, Beverley Minster, Yorkshire.

Mouldings, Temple Church, London.

Capital and Foliage, York.

Capital, Bicester Church, Oxon.

Window, Caistor, Northamptonshire.

CATHEDRAL OF ST. GERMAN, Isle of Man. South-eastern pier of Central Tower, and details.

Masonry of Chancel and South Transept.

Masonry in turret of central Tower, and belfry Window.

Window on North side of Nave.

Window in outer Porch of Entrance Gate, and masonry of Gateway.

DECORATED STYLE.—ILLUSTRATIONS.

*Merton College Chapel, Oxford—View of the North Side—Window and Mouldings—String in the Choir—Window of Vestry and Mouldings—Section of Arch of Doorway.

READING, BERKS—West Window of the Church of the Franciscan Friery—Plan—Mouldings of the Chancel-arch—West Window, and Aisle Window—Elevation of the Nave Arches—Cap and Base of Nave Pillar.

Roof of St. Mary's Church, with details.

Howden, Yorkshire—Pinnacle.

Adderbury, Oxfordshire—Doorway.

York—Capital and Foliage.

Long Wittenham Church, Berkshire—The South Porch—The South Chapel—Window—Piscina and Monument.

*Higham Ferrers Church, Northamptonshire—Interior of.

Window, Priest's door, and Font.

Offley Church, Hertfordshire, Font, with Sections.

Kidlington, Oxon, East end of South Aisle.

Wakefield Bridge, Yorkshire—Two Views of the Chapel on, and Plan.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL—

North Doorway and part of Skreen.

Diaper, South side of Choir.

PERPENDICULAR STYLE.—ILLUSTRATIONS.

*St. Winefrede's Well, Flintshire.

*Windsor Castle—the Cloisters of the Chapel.

Thornton Abbey, Lincolnshire—Oriel Window, Corbel, and Details of Gatehouse.

Dundry, near Bristol—Tower.

Warwick—St. Mary's Church, Sedilia and Piscina, Sections o Mouldings of Windows.

—— Desecrated Church of St. Michael in Saltisford—East end—Elevation of North side, and Ground Plan.

Abbey Church, St. Alban's, Carved Casement-mould.

*TONG CHURCH, Shropshire, South-East View, (*Etching*).

* — North-West View, (*Etching*).

——South-East Pinnacles of the Chancel.

—Pendentive of one of the Diagonal sides of the Octagon—Mouldings of Windows — Golden Chapel — Plan—Interior of the Octagon at the junction of the Spire.

Crockets from the Oratory at Urach, Germany.

ARCHITECTURE. (OF PARTS OF CHURCHES.)

On Bell-Turrets, by the Rev. J. L. Petit.
On Bell-cots, by I. H. Parker.

Illustrations.

*Acton Turville Church, Gloucestershire, (*Etching*).
*Leigh Delamere Church, Wiltshire, (*Etching*).
Bell-Turret, on Harescomb Church, Gloucestershire.
—— Leigh Delamere, Wiltshire.
—— Corston, Wiltshire.
*Harescomb Church, Gloucestershire, (*Etching*).
Corhampton, Littleton, Ashley, King's Somborne, Hampshire. Northborough, Northamptonshire. Little Coxwell, Berkshire. Idbury, Oxfordshire. Binsey, Oxford. Manton, Little Casterton, Rutland. Penton Mewsey, Hampshire. St. Helen's, St. Michael-le-Belfry, York. Godshill, Isle of Wight. Cleeve Abbey, Somerset. Welborne, Norfolk.

On some Oblique Perforations in the walls of Churches, called Squints, or Hagioscopes, by I. H. Parker.

Illustrations.

Otterbourne, Hampshire.
Irthlingborough, Northamptonshire.
Minster Lovell, Oxon, with Plan.
Taunton, Somerset. Newnham Murren, Oxon.
Kenton, Devon. Enfold, Wilts.
Bridgewater, Somerset, with Plan.
Charlton, Wilts.
Merton College Chapel, Oxford.
Ashley Church, Hampshire.
Crawley, Hants. North Hinksey, Berks.
St. Mary's, Gloucester.

MILITARY ARCHITECTURE.

On Military Architecture, by G. T. Clark, Esq.
Rockingham Castle, by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne.

Illustrations.

The Tower, London.
The Keep, Newcastle on Tyne.
Caerphilly Castle, restored.
Military Engines, and Galley.
*Peel Castle, Isle of Man.
Rockingham Castle, Northamptonshire, View of Entrance Gateway.
Sections of Mouldings.
Cross-loop with an oilet.
Plan of Gateway.
Plan of Northampton Castle.

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

With Illustrations of Domestic Architecture, and of the Usages of Domestic Life, drawn from Medieval Writers and the Illuminations in cotemporary Manuscripts.

Illustrations.

Acton Burnell Castle, Shropshire —Plan—North side—South-west view —Interior of North-west Angle and Window—Door and Windows of Hall—Parliament-House—North and South —Head of Window in Parliament-House.

Stanton Harcourt, Oxon, Kitchen.

*Thornton Abbey, Lincolnshire—Gate-house.

Chimney, Grosmont Castle, Herefordshire.

Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages, from MSS. in the British Museum.

—— Workmen making incised Monumental Slabs.

—— Position of Hall and Chamber, fol. 139, v°.

—— A House, fol. 199, v°.

—— A Chimney, fol. 6, v°.

—— A Castle, fol. 157, v°.

—— A Castle, fol. 160, v°.

—— A fortified Bridge, fol. 58, v°.

Usages of Domestic Life in the Middle Ages :—

Ancient Salt--Mazer-bowl with cover--Mazer-bowl, temp. Ric. II.—Hanap of the sixteenth century—Attendant with ship.—Entertainment of King Arthur by the felon and disloyal Knight "Couer de Pierre."

Exterior and Interior of Dovecot, Garway, Herefordshire.

Tympanum, &c. of South Doorway of the same.

Engraved Scissor-case, with inscription.

Ancient Seal, representing a Manor-house of the 13th century.

Bronze Caldron, discovered in Farney, Ulster.

Gaming Die found near Swansea.

Ornamental Fruit-Trenchers.

Ancient Mazer, found near Hursley, Wiltshire.

Ancient Chests from Rockingham Castle.

Supposed Penner of Henry VI.

Ancient Weight, found at Fulbroke, Warwickshire.

ENGLISH MEDIEVAL EMBROIDERY.

By the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne.

Illustrations.

Antependium at Steeple Aston, Oxfordshire.

Patterns on a Cope of crimson Velvet, Campden, Gloucestershire.

—— Weston Underwood, Northamptonshire, and at Ely Cathedral.

Patterns on Communion cloth, from East Langdon, Kent.

Copes from the same. Cope, Buckland, Worcestershire, and Antependium, Steeple Aston, Oxfordshire.

Example of the foundation of design to be embroidered.

Two examples shewing the mode of sewing the bouillon and purl.

Example shewing the manner in which the end of the silk is taken in the eye of the needle to the ends, when it is wished to draw it under the stuff.

Illustration of the old method of putting on the pailettes.

Paillons, before and after they are sewn on with bouillon and purl.

Representation of the Embroidery on the Amice of St. Thomas à Becket.

SEPULCHRAL MEMORIALS.

On Sepulchral Brasses and Incised Slabs, by Albert Way, Esq., M.A., Director S.A.

On Cross-Legged Effigies; Diminutive Effigies; and the Cross-legged Effigy at Horsted Keynes, Sussex, by W. S. Walford, Esq.

On the Preservation of Monumental Inscriptions, by T. W. King, Esq., Rouge Dragon.

On a Norman Tombstone at Coningsborough, by D. H. Haigh.

On Sepulchral Brasses, by the Rev. W. Drake.

On Cross-legged Effigies at Cashel, by G. Du Noyer, Esq.

Richardson's Monumental Effigies in the Temple Church, London, reviewed.

Illustrations.

Details of supposed Saxon Tomb, Bedale, Yorkshire.

Irish Tombstone of Suibine Mac Maelhumai.

Norman Tombstone, Coningsborough, Yorkshire.

Effigy found at Lewes Priory, Sussex.

Portion of Inscription on incised slab in memory of Gundrada.

Inscription on leaden cist of Gundrada, discovered at Lewes.

Sepulchral Brasses—Two of Anne Duke, afterwards Anne Rede, at Norwich.

—— of Nicholas Burnell, Acton Burnell.

—— of Sir Roger de Trumpington, Trumpington Church, Cambridgeshire.

—— of Sir John d'Aubernoun, Stoke d'Aubernon, Surrey.

—— in Wyke Church, Hants.

—— of Henry Denton, Higham Ferrers.

Monument in St. Stephen's Church, Bristol, and Effigy on ditto.

—— and Piscina in Long Wittenham Church, Berkshire.

*Scutcheon of Sir Thos. De la Laund, formerly in North Witham Church, Lincolnshire.

Tomb in Bredon Church, Worcestershire.

Effigy of Ulrich Landschaden, Church of Neckarsteinach, near Heidelberg.

Incised slab of John le Botiler, St. Bride's Church, Glamorganshire.

Tomb of the Butler family, at Clonmel, Ireland.

Cross-legged Effigy at Horsted Keynes, Sussex.

Sculptured Stone, Bedale crypt.

Early coped Coffin-lids, Repps, and Bircham-Tofts, Norfolk.

Monumental Slabs, Woodperry.

Incised Slab, Hexham Church, Northumberland.

Abbey of Athassel, co. Tipperary.
Effigy of Richard de Burgo.
Effigy of a cross-legged Knight.
Three Effigies of Females of the 13th century, cross-legged.
Coffin of black marble, 13th century.

Two Memorial Escutcheons, Amesbury Church, Wiltshire.

Curious carved stone in Newton Church, Yorkshire.

SCULPTURE.

Observations on the Progress of Sculpture in England in Medieval times, by Sir Richard Westmacott.

Illustrations.

Early Sculpture, in Leigh Church near Worcester.
On the Font, Portchester, Hampshire.
At Penally, near Tenby, North Wales.
Figure of St. George, Brinsop Church, Herefordshire.
Figure of St. George, Ruardean Church, Gloucestershire.
Head from Hereford Cathedral.
Statues from the entrance porch of the Guildhall, London.

CROSSES.

Illustrations.

Sculptured Cross, at Kells, Ireland.
—— Kirk Braddan. } Isle of Man.
—— Kirk Andreas. } Isle of Man.
—— Kirk Michael. } Isle of Man.
—— Hawkswell, Aycliffe, and Bedale, Yorkshire.
Fragments of Saxon Crosses, in the Museum at Bath.
Churchyard Cross, at Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire.
Sculptured Cross at Iona, A.D. 1489.

INSCRIPTIONS.

Early Christian Inscriptions and Symbols, from the Catacombs at Rome.
Inscriptions on Ancient Irish Tombstones.
Inscribed Stone near Padstow, Cornwall.
—— St. Clement's, Truro.
Inscriptions in the Church of Llanvair-Waterdine, Shropshire.
Inscribed Stone near Fowey, Cornwall.
Inscribed Stones, found at Port Talbot and Pyle, near Swansea.
Inscribed Stone, Warnford Church, Hampshire.

ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES.

Notices of Ancient Ornaments, Vestments and appliances of Sacred use—the Pax—the Chalice—by Albert Way, Esq., M.A., Director S.A.

Illustrations.

Golden Chalice, formerly belonging to Rheims Cathedral.
Chalice, Corpus Christi College, Oxford.
Chalices and Patens, York Cathedral.
Chalices,—Evesham, Hereford, and Chichester Cathedral.
Pax, New College, Oxford, with a Section, shewing the profile of the handle.
Reliquary of the fifteenth century.

DECORATIVE ARTS.

On Painted Glass, by Charles Winston, Esq.
Paintings on the walls of Stanton Harcourt Church, Oxfordshire, by the Rev. W. Dyke, M.A.
Decorative Processes connected with the Arts during the Middle Ages in England—Enamel, by Albert Way, Esq.

On the Painted Glass of Bourges Cathedral, reviewed.
Cennini's Treatise on Painting, reviewed.

Illustrations.

Diagram of Window, Bourges Cathedral.
Mural Paintings in Croydon Church, Surrey.
—— Mells Church, Somerset.
—— Stanton Harcourt Church, Oxfordshire :—The Last Supper—The Washing the Disciples' feet.—The Descent from the Cross and Entombment.
—— St. Thomas, in the Abbey Church, St. Alban's.
Enamel—Circular Plates of Bronze, discovered at Chesterton.
Gold Ring of Ethelwulf, King of Wessex, A.D. 836—838.
Obverse, Reverse, and Profile of King Alfred's Jewel, at Oxford.
Singular subject in Alfred's Jewel.
Pyx, belonging to S. P. Cox, Esq.
Burette, in the Bibl. du Roi, Paris.
Representation of Abraham receiving bread and wine from Melchisedec.
Crosier-head, with the Coronation of the Virgin in the Volute.

FICTILE MANUFACTURES.

Medieval Pottery, by the Rev. James Ingram, D.D.
On Vases and Tiles found at Woodperry, Oxon.
Notices of a Decorated Pavement in Haccombe Church, Devonshire, by Lord Alwyne Compton.

Illustrations.

*Tile Pavement at Haccombe, Devonshire.
Encaustic Tiles discovered in the Conventual Church of Neath Abbey, Wales.
Pavement-tile, found in Ulverscroft Priory, Leicestershire.
*Tiles found at Woodperry, Oxon.
Roman Fictile Vessels, Felmingham.
Vase discovered at Bottisham, Cambridgeshire.
Fictile Vases found near Kingston.
Medieval Pottery, found in Trinity College, Oxford.

COSTUME.

On a Gold Fibula found at Odiham, Hampshire, by S. Birch, Esq.
On the Horn-shaped Ladies' Head-dress in the time of Edw. I., by T. Wright, Esq.
On some Ancient Chess-men, with observations on their value as illustrations of Medieval Costume, by Albert Way, Esq.

Shaw's Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages, reviewed.
Hefner's Book of German Costume, reviewed.

Illustrations.

Ornament of the Precious Mitre of William of Wykeham.
Head-dress of a Lady, from Sepulchral Brass at Sawtrey, Huntingdonshire.
Four examples of medieval Brooches.
Enamelled armorial Scutcheons, found at Newark Priory, Surrey.
Gold ornament found near Cader Idris.

Ancient Chess-men in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and in the possession of the Rev. J. Eagles.
Single Combat with axes.
Effigies of two military figures, taken from the choir in Bamberg Cathedral.
Effigy of Gunther, King of the Romans, 1349. Francfort Cathedral.
Rings, found on Floddon Field.—In the possession of the Rev. W. Sneyd.—Found in the river Severn near Upton.—Bredicot; and Bredon Hill, Worcestershire.—With talismanic inscription, found in Glamorganshire.—At Thetford, in Norfolk.—Supposed to be Saxon, from the collection of Mr. Talbot.—Found near Cork.
Bridle of Bronze found at Lough Fea.

ICONOGRAPHY.

On Iconography and Iconoclasm, by the Rev. J. Ingram, D.D.
A Catalogue of the Emblems of Saints, by the Rev. C. Hart.
The Legend of St. Werstan, from painted glass in Great Malvern Church, by Albert Way, Esq.

Didron's Christian Iconography, reviewed.

Illustrations.

Christ in an Elliptic Aureole.
The Trinity creating Man.
The Trinity nimbed.
The Divine Lamb.
Pope Paschal, with square Nimbus.
God condemning Adam and Eve to labour.
Our Saviour in an Aureole of Clouds.
God in a Circular Aureole.
The Virgin in an Aureole.
Christ the Almighty.
The Creation.
The Trinity.
Figures of the Apostles.
Representation of the Deity, from Shobdon Church, Herefordshire.
Coins illustrative of Christian Iconography.
Admission of St. Guthlac into Priest's Orders.
Painted Glass in Mells Church, Somerset, representing St. Sitha.
The Legend of St Werstan.—St. Werstan's Vision.
—— Dedication of the Chapel built by St. Wérstan.
—— The Grant of Edward the Confessor.
—— The Martyrdom of St. Werstan.
The Ascension of Elijah, sculptured on a Sarcophagus at Rome.
The Sacrifice of Isaac, sculptured on a Sarcophagus at Rome.

NUMISMATICS.

On Numismatics, by Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A.

Akermann's Coins of the Romans relating to Britain, reviewed.
Antient Coins of Cities and Princes, reviewed.

Illustrations.

Romano-British Coins.
Gold Coin of Edward the Confessor.
An unpublished Saxon Sceatta found near Banbury, Oxfordshire.
Saxon and Roman coins.
Unique Variety of the Gold Ring-money of Ireland, found near Macrom, co. Cork.

SEALS.

On the History of the Great Seals of England, by Professor Willis. Reign of Edward III.

Illustrations.

*Conventual Seal of Furness Abbey and the Abbot's Secretum.
Seal of William de Fleming.
Seal of Edith de Merton.
Seal of William Graindorge.
Seal of the Priory of Montacute, Somersetshire.
Seal of William Graindehorge, 13th century, found at Flasby, near Gargrave.
Seal of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, A.D. 1319.
College Seal, Warwick.
Seal of Tynemouth Priory.
Second Great Seal of Edward III.
Seal of the Sub-dean of Chichester.
Seal of Brembre's Chantry, Wimborne Minster, Dorsetshire.
Plan of Neath Castle, and Seal of the Abbey of Neath, Glamorganshire.
Seal of St. Wolstan, Bishop of Worcester, A.D. 1099.
Seal of the Priory of Chertsey, Surrey.
Seal of John de Dufforde, found at Newnham Murren, Oxfordshire.
Mayoralty Seal of London.
—— Seal found at Giéz in Touraine.
Seal, found near Stoke by Clare, Suffolk.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

Indenture for a Rood-loft in Merton College Chapel, Oxford, A.D. 1486.
Letter from Edward the First to Robert Bruce.
Inventory of Reginald Labbe, A.D. 1293.
Extracts from the Archives of St. Paul's Cathedral, London.
Remarkable instance of the use made of the terrors of Excommunication in the thirteenth century.
Notices of Records at Southampton.
Early English Receipts for painting and gilding.
The Will of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, with Extracts from the Inventory of his effects, A.D. 1319—1322.

HISTORICAL.

Observations on the pretended marriage of William de Warren with a daughter of William the Conqueror, by Thomas Stapleton, Esq., Vice-President S.A.

Notices of the Priory of Southwick in the county of Southampton, by the Rev. W. H. Gunner, M.A.

On the Parliaments at Acton Burnel: and on the Castle and Parliaments of Northampton, by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, M.A.

Some Observations on the "Danse Macabre" or Dance of Death, by W. J. Thoms, Esq., F.S.A.

On the Wait Service mentioned in the Liber Winton, and on the supposed Monastery of Sapalanda, by E. Smirke, Esq.

Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, reviewed.

TOPOGRAPHICAL.

Queries and Directions intended to assist Correspondents in the arrangement of Topographical Communications, by W. Bromet, M.D., F.S.A.

On Crannoges in Ireland and remains discovered in them, by E. P. Shirley, Esq., M.P.

Towyn-y-Capel, and the ruined chapel of St. Bride, near Holyhead, with notices of interments there, by the Hon. W. O. Stanley, M.P.

Britton's Essay on Topographical Literature, reviewed.

Ord's History of Cleveland, reviewed.

Thompson's Handbook of Leicester, reviewed.

Dunkin's History of Dartford, Kent, reviewed.

Hagreen's Antiquities of Ipswich, reviewed.

Shirley's Account of Farney in Ulster, reviewed.

Walbran's Antiquities of Gainford, reviewed.

Francis' History of Neath Abbey, reviewed.

Gibson's History of Tynemouth, reviewed.

Guide to the Architectural Antiquities in the neighbourhood of Oxford, Parts 1, 2, reviewed.

PROGRESS OF ARCHAEOLOGY.

Proceedings of the Annual Meetings at Canterbury, and at Winchester.

Proceedings of the "Society for the Preservation of the Historical Monuments of France," by W. Bromet, M.D., F.S.A.

CONTENTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE

PROCEEDINGS AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Archaeological Institute

OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

AT WINCHESTER, SEPTEMBER, MDCCCXLV.

ILLUSTRATED BY ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTEEN ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD, COPPER, AND STEEL.

8vo. price 20*s.* (*gratis to members.*)

OR SEPARATELY:—

General Report of the Proceedings of the Meeting; with some account of the Objects collected in the Museum formed at the Deanery at Winchester, during the week of the Meeting. By Albert Way, Esq. 1*s.*

The Architectural History of Winchester Cathedral. By the Rev. R. Willis, M.A., Jacksonian Professor in the University of Cambridge. 5*s.*

The Architectural Works of William of Wykeham. By C. R. Cockerell, Esq., Professor of Architecture in the Royal Academy. 3*s.*

Notices of the Painted Glass in the Cathedral and Churches of Winchester and its Neighbourhood. By C. Winston, Esq. 1*s.*

Architectural Notes of the Churches and other Ancient Buildings in the City and Neighbourhood of Winchester. By I. H. Parker. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Notices of the Mint and Exchange at Winchester; with a list of Moneyers. By Edward Hawkins, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., Keeper of Antiquities in the British Museum. 1*s.*

The Hall of the Royal Palace and the Round Table at Winchester: with Chronological Extracts from Records illustrative of the Castle, Hall, and Round Table. By Edward Smirke, Esq. 2*s.*

The Names, Surnames, and Nicnames of the Anglosaxons. By J. M. Kemble, Esq. 1*s.*

Notice of the seals of the Earls of Winchester, and Winchester City, and the Royal Seals for the Recognizance of Debtors, temp. Edw. II. By John Gough Nichols, Esq., F.S.A. 1*s.*

Remarks on the Common Seal of the Men of Alwarestoke, county of Hants. By Sir Frederick Madden, K.H.

Remarks on the Monument of Sir Richard Lyster, in St. Michael's Church, Southampton. By Sir Frederick Madden, K.H.

On the Architecture of the Church and Hospital of the Holy Cross. By E. A. Freeman, Esq., B.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. 1*s.*

Some Observations on the Priory of Christchurch, Hampshire. By Alexander James Beresford Hope, Esq., M.A., M.P. 1*s.*

Remarks on Romsey Abbey Church. By the Rev. J. L. Petit, M.A. 1*s.*

The History and Architecture of Porchester Castle, drawing attention especially to the Roman Character of its Structure and Masonry. By the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, M.A. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Illustrations.

Cathedral. — Western elevation of south transept.
Eastern side-aisle of north transept.
Plans of piers in the transept, presbytery, and De Lucy's aisle.
Alterations in the west side-aisle of the north transept.
Exterior view of the north transept.
South-west and south-east tower piers.
Part of the eastern face of the north-east tower pier.
Capitals in north transept, crypt, and Lady-chapel.
Queen Mary's chair.
Door in De Lucy's aisle.
Plan of the ferctory, &c.
Masonry in the triforium.
Lock in Silkstede's chapel.
Iron-work in south transept.
Bench in south transept.
Wykeham's and Edingdon's windows, jamb molds, and bases.
Edingdon's panels and cusps.
Wykeham's panels and cusps.
Jamb and impost of west window.
Base of original west end.
Norman shafts over the central vault of the nave, and in the south aisle.
Plan of a pier of the nave.
Compartments of the nave.
Triforium of the south transept.
Arch, capital, and base molds.
General plan of the Cathedral, coloured.

Wykeham.—Plans of Windsor Castle, Queenbro' Castle, Winchester College, New College, Oxford.—Piling, and elevation of a church.
Plans of New College, Magdalene, and All Souls' chapels.

Glass.—Figures of the Carpenter, the Mason, and the Clerk of the Works, and the Glass Painter, from the east window of the college chapel.

Churches, &c.—Plan of the close, shewing the monastic remains.
Entrance to the deanery, and plan.
Roof and window of the deanery.
Part of the chapter-house, with plan.
Arches between the chapter-house and the cloisters.
Early English pillars in the kitchen.
———————— table in the kitchen.
South and east elevations of hall.

Wolvesey Castle.
Portion of the walls.
Section of a window.
Part of the ruins.
Plan of the remains.
Remains at *A* and *C* on plan.
Early English window, St. Bartholomew's church.
St. John's church.—Corbel—The Easter sepulchre—The sedilia and piscina—Early English window — Decorated screen — Bench-ends — West end — Plan.
Capitals in St. Thomas's church.
Sun-dial of the thirteenth century, St. Michael's church.
Plan of St. Peter's church, Cheesehill.
Window in the tower, with plan.
Plan of the college of St. Elizabeth.
Brass, with figure of St. Christopher, Week church.
Standard, Compton, with details.

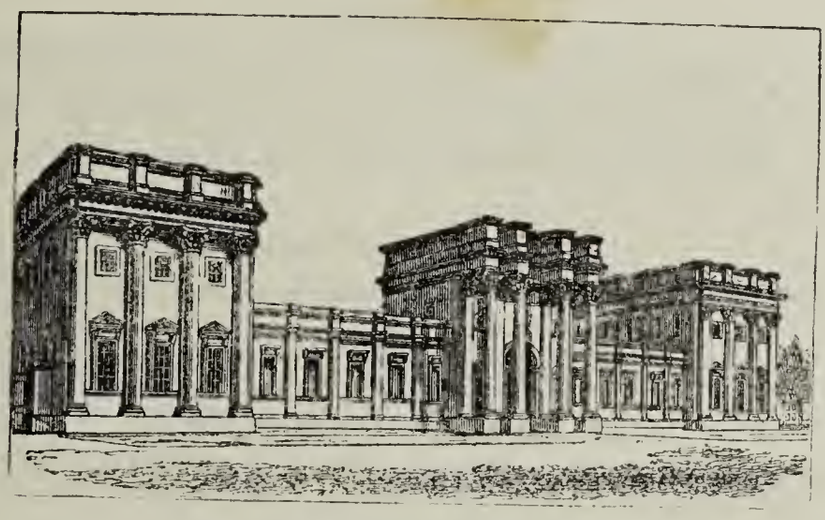
The Hall.—Elevation of one bay, exterior and interior.
Ground-plan—Inside of south door, with section of archivolt mouldings.
Boss in the roof.—Window at the west end of the hall.
Cap and Base of columns, with section and plan.
View in the passage to the postern, with plan and sections.
Plan of the city.
The round table.
Seals of the earls and city of Winchester.

St. Cross.—The gateway—Squinch at the angle of quire and transept—Turret at the east end—Circular window in the eastern gable—Doorway in the angle of south transept, exterior and interior of ditto—West doorway—Window in south transept—Base of pier, nave—Bases and foot ornaments, nave.—Piscina and brackets, north aisle of quire.

Romsey Abbey.—*View of the Church--East window of choir—Ground-plan—Clerestory, south transept — Belfry window—Arcade—Springing of Transition arch of nave—Two compartments of nave—Norman base, south aisle of nave—Holy-rood, west side, south transept—Foliage to east window of choir—Corbel-table, south aisle of nave, and south aisle of choir.

Porchester Castle.—Porchester, Pevensey, and Burgh Castles.—Plans of towers, Burgh, Porchester, Richborough. Pharos, Lympne—Arch, Lillebonne—Doorway, Pharos, Dover—Mint wall, Lincoln—Chamber near Balkerne Lane, Colchester—Section of wall, Colchester—Wall, St. Alban's—Arches, Jewry wall, Leicester—Caerwent wall—Remains, Silchester—Plan of north-west angle, keep, window, and parapet, Porchester.

UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD.



BOOKS

PRINTED FOR THE

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

At the Prices annexed, *in Boards.*

	Page.
Æschylus.	12
Anecdota.	14
Aristophanes.	12
Aristotle.	13
Ashmolean Catalogue.	15
Barrow.	6
Bede.	9
Beveridge.	5
Bilson.	5
Biscoe.	8
Bodleian Catalogues.	15
Bragge.	7
Bull.	6
Burnet.	3, 10
Butler.	7
Cardwell's New Test.	8
Catenæ.	8
Chillingworth.	2
Choeroboscus.	9
Clarendon.	10
Clergyman's Instructor.	7
Clinton.	11
Comber.	5
Conferences.	4
Cranmer.	4, 5
Demosthenes.	13
Dindorf.	12
Documentary Annals.	4
Douglas.	7
Dowling.	9
Enchirid. Theol. Anti-Rom.	2
Euripides.	12, 14
Eusebius.	9
Evagrius.	9
Formularies of Faith.	4
Fuller.	3
Gaisford.	14
Græcæ Gramm. Rud.	11
Greswell.	8
Hammond.	6
Heyne.	13
Homer.	13
Homilies.	4
Hooker.	6
Horbery.	7
Jackson.	5
Jones.	8
Josephus.	8
Laud.	2
Leslie.	7
Lewis, John.	3
Lewis, Thomas.	10
Liddell and Scott's Lexicon.	11
Mitchell, Indices.	14
Nov. Test. Græcum.	8
Nowell.	4
Oratores Attici.	14
Patres Apostolici.	8
Paroemiographi Graeci.	14
Pearson.	6, 11
Plotinus.	14
Prideaux.	10
Raleigh.	10
Routh, Reliquiæ Sacræ.	9
Opuscula.	9
Scheller.	11
Sharp, Archbishop.	7
Sharp, Archdeacon.	5
Shuckford.	10
Socrates.	9
Sophocles.	12
South.	7
Stillingfleet.	2, 6
Stobæus.	14
Strype.	3
Suidas.	11
Sylloge.	4
Synodalia.	4
Taverner.	5
Theodoret.	9
The Three Primers, &c.	4
The Two Liturgies, &c.	4
Wall.	7
Waterland.	7
Wheatly.	5

SOLD BY JOHN HENRY PARKER, OXFORD;

T. PAYNE AND H. FOSS, PALL MALL;

AND E. GARDNER, 7, PATERNOSTER ROW,

LONDON.

JUNE. 1847.

---

3 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 12*s.*

ENCHIRIDION THEOLOGICUM ANTI-ROMANUM.

Tracts on the Points at Issue between the Churches of England and Rome. With a Preface by EDWARD CARDWELL, D.D.

Vol. I. 8vo. 11*s.* 6*d.*

TAYLOR'S Dissuasive from Popery, and Treatise on the Real Presence.

Vol. II. 8vo. 9*s.* 6*d.*

Dr. ISAAC BARROW,

On the Supremacy of the Pope; with his Discourse on the Unity of the Church.

Vol. III. 8vo. 11*s.*

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,

Selected from BURNET, WAKE, PATRICK, STILLINGFLEET, SHERLOCK, TILLOTSON, CLAGETT, and others.

A New Edition. 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*

A RELATION OF THE CONFERENCE

between WILLIAM LAUD, late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and Mr. FISHER the Jesuit, by the command of King James, of ever blessed Memory.

A New Edition. 2 Vols. 8vo. 17*s.*

A RATIONAL ACCOUNT

OF THE GROUNDS OF PROTESTANT RELIGION:

Being a VINDICATION of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's RELATION OF A CONFERENCE, &c. from the Pretended Answer by T. C. Wherein the true GROUNDS of FAITH are cleared, and the false discovered; the CHURCH of ENGLAND vindicated from the imputation of schism; and the most important particular controversies between us and those of the church of Rome thoroughly examined.

By EDWARD STILLINGFLEET, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's, &c.

2 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 1*s.*

ORIGINES BRITANNICÆ;

OR, THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE BRITISH CHURCHES.

By EDWARD STILLINGFLEET, D.D.

To which is added,

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT

By W. LLOYD, D.D. A New Edition, with Additional Notes By the REV. THOS. P. PANTIN, M.A.

3 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*

THE WORKS OF WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH, M.A.

Containing, The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation, &c.

---

6 Vols. 8vo. 3*l.* 3*s.*

THE CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN

to the year 1648, endeavoured by THOMAS FULLER, D.D., Prebendary of Sarum. Edited by the Rev. J. S. BREWER, M.A.

7 Vols. 8vo. 3*l.* 10*s.*

THE HISTORY OF

THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

By GILBERT BURNET, D.D., Late Lord Bishop of Sarum.

A New Edition, with a copious Index.

27 Vols. 8vo. 14*l.* 10*s.*

THE COMPLETE WORKS OF JOHN STRYPE, M.A.,

With a General Index.

MEMORIALS OF ARCHBISHOP CRANMER. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 1*s.*

THE LIFE AND ACTS OF ARCHBISHOP PARKER. 3 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 10*s.*

THE LIFE AND ACTS OF ARCHBISHOP GRINDAL. 8vo. 14*s.*

THE LIFE AND ACTS OF ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT. 3 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 10*s.*

THE LIFE AND ACTS OF BISHOP AYLMER. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

THE LIFE OF THE LEARNED SIR JOHN CHEKE, KT. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

THE LIFE OF THE LEARNED SIR THOMAS SMITH, KT., D.C.L. 8vo. 8*s.*

THE ANNALS OF THE REFORMATION

and Establishment of Religion and other various occurrences in the Church of England during Queen Elizabeth's happy reign. 7 Vols. 8vo. 4*l.* 4*s.*

ECCLESIASTICAL MEMORIALS

relating chiefly to Religion, and the Reformation of it in the Church of England under King Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Mary. 6 Vols. 8vo. 3*l.* 3*s.*

A GENERAL INDEX to the Historical and Biographical Works of JOHN STRYPE, M.A. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 5*s.*

8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND SUFFERINGS

of the Reverend and Learned JOHN WICLIF, D.D., Warden of Canterbury Hall, and Professor of Divinity in Oxford, and Rector of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, in the Reigns of King Edward III. and King Richard II., together with a Collection of Papers and Records relating to the said History,

By JOHN LEWIS, M.A., Minister of Meregate.

8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*

THE LIFE

of the Learned and Right Reverend REYNOLD PECOCK, S.T.P., Lord Bishop of St. Asaph and Chichester in the Reign of King Henry VI., faithfully collected from Records and MSS., being a Sequel to the Life of Dr. JOHN WICLIF, in order to an Introduction to the History of the English Reformation,

By JOHN LEWIS, M.A., Minister of Meregate.

Second Edition. 8vo. 8*s.*

THE TWO BOOKS OF COMMON PRAYER,

Set forth by Authority of Parliament, in the reign of King Edward VI. Compared with each other.

By EDWARD CARDWELL, D.D. Principal of St. Alban's Hall.

Second Edition. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

HISTORY OF CONFERENCES

And other Proceedings connected with the Revision of the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, from the year 1558 to the year 1690.

By EDWARD CARDWELL, D.D., Principal of St. Alban's Hall.

2 Vols. 8vo. 18*s.*

DOCUMENTARY ANNALS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF ENGLAND;

Being a Collection of Injunctions, Declarations, Orders, Articles of Inquiry, &c., from the year 1546 to the year 1716. With Notes, Historical and Explanatory,

By EDWARD CARDWELL, D.D., Principal of St. Alban's Hall.

2 Vols. 8vo. 19*s.*

SYNODALIA. A Collection of

ARTICLES OF RELIGION, CANONS, AND PROCEEDINGS OF CONVOCATIONS in the province of Canterbury, from the year 1547 to the year 1717. With Notes historical and explanatory, by

EDWARD CARDWELL, D.D., Principal of St. Alban's Hall.

8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*

CERTAIN SERMONS OR HOMILIES,

Appointed to be read in Churches in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

A New Edition with Scripture References, and Indexes. To which are added, The Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical.

8vo. 7*s.*

FORMULARIES OF FAITH

Put forth by Authority during the reign of Henry VIII.

8vo. 13*s.* 6*d.*

THREE PRIMERS put forth in the reign of Henry VIII.

8vo. 8*s.*

SYLLOGE CONFESSIONUM, sub tempus Reformandæ Ecclesiæ editarum.

8vo. 5*s.* 6*d.*

CATECHISMUS

Sive prima institutio disciplinaque pietatis Christianæ Latine explicatæ.

Authore ALEXANDRO NOWELLO.

A New Edition, edited by the Rev. W. JACOBSON, M.A.

8vo. 14*s.* 6*d.*

A SHORT INSTRUCTION INTO CHRISTIAN RELIGION, BEING

A CATECHISM set forth by ARCHBISHOP CRANMER

In MDXLVIII: together with the same in Latin, translated from the German by JUSTUS JONAS, in MDXXXIX.

With facsimiles of the original curious woodcuts.

A New Edition. 8vo. 6*s.*

THE RUBRIC IN THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

AND THE CANONS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

So far as they relate to the Parochial Clergy, considered by T. SHARP, D.D., Archdeacon of Northumberland.

A New Edition. 8vo. 5*s.*

A RATIONAL ILLUSTRATION

OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

of the Church of England. By CHARLES WHEATLY, M.A.

7 Vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

A COMPANION TO THE TEMPLE;

OR, A HELP TO DEVOTION IN THE USE OF THE COMMON PRAYER.

By THOMAS COMBER, D.D., Late Dean of Durham.

8vo. 10*s.*

POSTILS ON THE EPISTLES AND GOSPELS

Compiled and published by RICHARD TAVERNER in the Year 1540, and now edited by EDWARD CARDWELL, D.D., Principal of St. Alban's Hall.

The second complete Edition. 8vo. 8*s.*

ECCLESIA ANGLICANA ECCLESIA CATHOLICA;

Or, The Doctrine of the Church of England consonant to Scripture, Reason, and Fathers: in a Discourse upon the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES agreed upon in the Convocation held at London MDLXII.

By WILLIAM BEVERIDGE, D.D. Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.

4 Vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 10*s.*

THE REMAINS OF THOMAS CRANMER, D.D.,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Collected and arranged by the Rev. HENRY JENKYNS, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College.

8vo. 11*s.*

THE PERPETUAL GOVERNMENT OF CHRIST'S CHURCH.

By THOMAS BILSON, D.D., Bishop of Winchester.

A New Edition, with a Biographical Notice by the Rev. ROBERT EDEN, M.A., late Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

12 Vols. 8vo. 4*l.* 16*s.*

THE WORKS OF THOMAS JACKSON, D.D.,

Sometime President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Dean of Peterborough.

A NEW EDITION, with a COPIOUS INDEX.

---

3 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

THE WORKS OF RICHARD HOOKER.

With an account of his Life and Death; by ISAAC WALTON.

A New Edition, with additions; arranged by the Rev. JOHN KEBLE, M.A., Late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, Professor of Poetry.

2 Vols. 8vo. 11*s.*

THE WORKS OF RICHARD HOOKER.

With an Account of his Life and Death; by ISAAC WALTON.

8 Vols. 8vo. 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

THE THEOLOGICAL WORKS OF ISAAC BARROW, D.D.

4 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 10*s.*

A PARAPHRASE AND ANNOTATIONS

upon all the Books of the NEW TESTAMENT, briefly explaining all the difficult places thereof, by H. HAMMOND, D.D.

New Edition, in 8 Vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 9*s.*

THE THEOLOGICAL WORKS of GEORGE BULL, D.D., sometime Lord Bishop of St. David's. With his Life by GEORGE NELSON, Esq. edited by EDWARD BURTON, D.D., late Regius Professor of Divinity.

2 Vols. 8vo. 10*s.*

AN EXPOSITION OF THE CREED. By JOHN PEARSON, D.D., Lord Bishop of Chester. A New Edition, edited by the Rev. E. BURTON, D.D., late Regius Professor of Divinity, &c.

2 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.*

THE MINOR THEOLOGICAL WORKS

OF JOHN PEARSON, D.D., sometime Lord Bishop of Chester.

Now first collected, with a Memoir of the Author, Notes and Index, By EDWARD CHURTON, M.A.

A New Edition. 2 Vols. 8vo. 15*s.*

ORIGINES SACRÆ;

Or A Rational Account of the Grounds of Natural and Revealed Religion, By the Right Rev. Father in God EDWARD STILLINGFLEET, D.D.

5 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 16*s.*

THE THEOLOGICAL WORKS

of the Most Reverend JOHN SHARP, D.D., Archbishop of York.

A New Edition. 5 Vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

SERMONS preached upon Several Occasions.

By ROBERT SOUTH, D.D., Prebendary of Westminster, &c.

5 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

THE WORKS OF FRANCIS BRAGGE, D.D.,

Vicar of Hitchin, Herts, and Prebendary of Westminster.

4 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 12*s.*

THE HISTORY OF INFANT BAPTISM.

By WILLIAM WALL, M.A.

Together with Mr. GALE'S Reflections, and Dr. WALL'S Defence.

A New Edition, by the Rev. HENRY COTTON, D.C.L.

7 Vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 16*s.*

THE THEOLOGICAL WORKS of the Rev. CHARLES LESLIE.

A New Edition, with copious Indexes. 6 Vols. 8vo. 3*l.* 3*s.*

THE WORKS OF DANIEL WATERLAND, D.D.

With his Life by WILLIAM VAN MILDERT, D.D.

2 Vols. 8vo. 11*s.*

THE WORKS OF BISHOP BUTLER.

A NEW EDITION. To which is added an INDEX TO THE ANALOGY,

Drawn up by Dr. BENTHAM, revised and corrected by Bishop BUTLER himself.

Printed from the Original Manuscript in the Bodleian Library.

2 Vols. 8vo. 14*s.*

THE THEOLOGICAL WORKS of MATTHEW HORBERY, D.D.

Fourth Edition. 8vo. 5*s.* 6*d.*

THE CRITERION;

Or Rules by which the true miracles recorded in the New Testament are distinguished from the spurious miracles of Pagans and Papists.

By JOHN DOUGLAS, D.D., Bishop of Salisbury.

A New Edition. 8vo. 7*s.*

THE CLERGYMAN'S INSTRUCTOR,

OR A COLLECTION OF TRACTS ON THE MINISTERIAL DUTIES.

CONTENTS. 1. Herbert's Country Parson. 2. Bishop Taylor's Rules and Advices to the Clergy of the Diocese of Down and Connor. 3. Bishop Burnet's Pastoral Care. 4. Bishop Sprat's Discourse to the Clergy of his Diocese. 5. Bishop Bull's Companion for the Candidates of Holy Orders. 6. Bishop Gibson's Directions to the Clergy of the Diocese of London. 7. Archbishop Hort's Instructions to the Clergy of the Diocese of Tuam. 8. Bishop Wilson's Parochialia.

12mo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

NOVUM TESTAMENTUM GRÆCUM *Accedunt parallela S. Scripturæ Loca*, necnon vetus capitulorum notatio et canones Eusebii.

12mo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

NOVUM TESTAMENTUM GRÆCUM juxta exemplar Millianum.

2 Vols. Crown 8vo. 16*s.*

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN GREEK AND ENGLISH; With a Marginal Harmony, References to Parallel Passages, a Concordance of Words, and a Graduated Collection of various readings. Arranged and edited by EDWARD CARDWELL, D.D.

3 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*

A NEW AND FULL METHOD of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament. By the Rev. JEREMIAH JONES.

Editio quarta. 8vo. 9*s.* 6*d.*

HARMONIA EVANGELICA, Sive Quatuor Evangelia atque ACTUS APOSTOLORUM Græce pro temporis et rerum serie in partes quinque distributa. Edidit EDVARDUS GRESWELL, S.T.B., Coll. C. C. apud Oxon. Socius.

8vo. 9*s.* 6*d.*

PROLEGOMENA AD HARMONIAM EVANGELICAM, Auctore EDVARDO GRESWELL, S.T.B.

Second Edition. 5 Vols. 8vo. 3*l.* 3*s.*

DISSERTATIONS UPON THE PRINCIPLES AND ARRANGEMENT OF A HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. By E. GRESWELL, B.D.

8vo. 9*s.* 6*d.*

THE HISTORY OF THE ACTS OF THE HOLY APOSTLES Confirmed from other Authors; and considered as full Evidence of the TRUTH OF CHRISTIANITY: With a Prefatory Discourse upon the Nature of that Evidence; By RICHARD BISCOE, M.A.

Tomi VIII. 4*l.* 18*s.*

CATENÆ GRÆCORUM PATRUM IN NOVUM TESTAMENTUM. Edidit J. A. CRAMER, S.T.P.

Tomi II. 8vo. 1*l.* 5*s.*

FLAVII JOSEPHI De Bello Judaico libri VII. Edidit E. CARDWELL, S.T.P.

Editio altera subinde emendata. Tomi II. 8vo. 1*l.* 1*s.*

S. CLEMENTIS ROMANI, S. IGNATII, S. POLYCARPI, PATRUM APOSTOLICORUM Quæ supersunt; necnon duorum posteriorum Martyria, Gr. et Lat. Edidit G. JACOBSON, A.M.

Second Edition. 4 Vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 2*s.*

RELIQUIÆ SACRÆ: SIVE, AUCTORUM FERE JAM PERDITORUM SECUNDI TERTIIQUE SÆCULI POST CHRISTUM NATUM QUÆ SUPERSUNT. ACCEDUNT SYNODI ET EPISTOLÆ CANONICÆ, NICÆNO CONCILIO ANTIQUIORES. Ad codices MSS. recensuit, notisque illustravit, M. J. ROUTH, S.T.P. Collegii S. Magdalenæ Oxon. Præses.

Editio altera et aucta. Tomi II. 8vo. 19*s.*

SCRIPTORUM ECCLESIASTICORUM OPUSCULA PRÆCIPUA Quædam. Recensuit, notasque suas et aliorum addidit M. J. ROUTH, S.T.P.

8vo. 9*s.* 6*d.*

EUSEBII PAMPHILI HISTORIÆ ECCLESIASTICÆ Libri decem. Ex recensione E. BURTON, S.T.P.

Tomi II. 8vo. 1*l.* 11*s.* ANNOTATIONES AD EUSEBIUM.

8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

EUSEBII PAMPHILI ECLOGÆ PROPHETICÆ. E Codice Manuscripto Bibliothecæ Cæsareæ Vindobonensis nunc primum edidit T. GAISFORD, S.T.P.

Tomi IV. 8vo. 2*l.* 10*s.*

EUSEBII PAMPHILI EVANGELICÆ PRÆPARATIONIS Libri XV. ad Codd. MSS. recensuit THOMAS GAISFORD, S.T.P.

8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

SOCRATIS SCHOLASTICI HISTORIÆ ECCLESIASTICÆ Lib. VIII. ex recensione H. VALESII.

8vo. 7*s.*

EVAGRII HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA ex recensione H. VALESII.

8vo. 14*s.*

THEODORETI EP. CYREN. GRÆCARUM AFFECTIONUM CURATIO. Ad Codices Manuscriptos recensuit T. GAISFORD, S.T.P.

Tomi III. 8vo. 1*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*

GEORGII CHOEROBOSCI DICTATA IN THEODOSII CANONES, NECNON EPIMERISMI IN PSALMOS. E Codibus Manuscriptis edidit T. GAISFORD, S.T.P.

8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

BÆDÆ HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA GENTIS ANGLORUM, cum opusculis quibusdam et Epistola Bonifacii ad Cudbertum, cura R. HUSSEY, B.D. Histor. Ecclesiast. Prof. Reg.

8vo. 7*s.*

NOTITIA SCRIPTORUM SS. PATRUM ALIORUMQUE VETERIS ECCLESIÆ MONUMENTORUM, quæ in Collectionibus Anecdotorum post Annum Christi MDCC. in lucem Editis continentur, nunc primum instructa Opera et Studio J. G. DOWLING, A.M.

---

8 Vols. 8vo. 3*l.* 19*s.*

THE WORKS OF SIR WALTER RALEIGH, KT.

Royal 8vo. 1*l.* 2*s.*, *cloth lettered.*

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND.

From the Original MS. By EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON. Also his LIFE written by himself, in which is included a Continuation of his History of the Grand Rebellion. With a large Index.

7 Vols. 18mo. 1*l.* 5*s.*

CLARENDON'S HISTORY OF THE REBELLION.

8 Vols. 8vo. 3*l.* 10*s.*

CLARENDON'S HISTORY OF THE REBELLION,

With the Suppressed Passages, &c.

3 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

THE LIFE OF EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

Written by Himself. In which is included a Continuation of his History of the Grand Rebellion.

A New Edition. 6 Vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 10*s.*

BISHOP BURNET'S HISTORY OF HIS OWN TIME,

With the Suppressed Passages, and Notes, by the Earls of DARTMOUTH and HARDWICK, Speaker ONSLOW, Dean SWIFT and others.

2 Vols. 8vo. 19*s.*

THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT CONNECTED,

In the History of the Jews and Neighbouring Nations.
By HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX, D.D., Dean of Norwich.

2 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 7*s.*

THE SACRED AND PROFANE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD CONNECTED,

From the Creation of the World to the Dissolution of the Assyrian Empire at the death of Sardanapalus. With a Treatise on the Creation and Fall of Man.
By SAMUEL SHUCKFORD, M.A.

3 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*

ORIGINES HEBRÆÆ.

The Antiquities of the Hebrew Republic. By THOMAS LEWIS, M.A.

Tomi III. Fol. 7*l.* 10*s.*

SUIDÆ LEXICON

Post L. Kusterum ad Codd. MSS. recensuit T. GAISFORD, S.T.P., Gr. Ling. Prof. Reg.

Fol. 3*l.* 16*s.*

JOHANNIS SCAPULAE LEXICON GRAECO-LATINUM.

Indici Graeco inseruntur aliquot Verborum millia e Scotto, Bastio aliisque.

2 Vols. 8vo. 16*s.*

JOHANNIS PEARSONI ADVERSARIA HESYCHIANA.

Folio. 4*l.* 4*s.*

LEXICON TOTIUS LATINITATIS.

A DICTIONARY OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE

Originally compiled and illustrated with Explanations in German by I. J. G. SCHELLER. Revised and translated into English by J. E. RIDDLE, M.A.

Second Edition, 4to. 2*l.* 4*s.*, *cloth lettered.*

A GREEK-ENGLISH LEXICON,

Based on the German work of F. Passow,

By HENRY GEORGE LIDDELL, M.A., Student of Christ Church, and ROBERT SCOTT, M.A., sometime Student of Christ Church, and late Fellow of Balliol College.

Second Edition revised, 12mo. 8*s.*, *in cloth.* 10*s.* 6*d.*, *bound.*

A LEXICON,

CHIEFLY FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS, ABRIDGED FROM THE GREEK-ENGLISH LEXICON

Of H. G. LIDDELL, M.A. and ROBERT SCOTT, M.A.

12mo. *Sixth Edition.* 4*s.*, *bound.*

GRÆCÆ GRAMMATICÆ RUDIMENTA,

IN USUM SCHOLARUM. *Editio Quinta.*

4to. 1*l.* 10*s.*

FASTI HELLENICI. The Civil and Literary CHRONOLOGY OF GREECE, from the earliest Accounts to the LVth Olympiad.

By HENRY F. CLINTON, Esq., M.A., late Student of Christ Church.

Third Edition, with additions. 4to. 1*l.* 14*s.*

FASTI HELLENICI. From the LVth to the CXXIVth Olympiad.

4to. 1*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*

FASTI HELLENICI.

From the CXXIVth Olympiad to the death of Augustus.

4to. 2*l.* 2*s.*

FASTI ROMANI.

The civil and literary Chronology of Rome and Constantinople from the death of Augustus to the death of Justin II.

By HENRY FYNES CLINTON, Esq. M.A. late Student of Christ Church.

8vo. 5*s.* 6*d.*

AESCHYLI TRAGOEDIAE

et Fragmenta, ex Recensione G. DINDORFII.

Tomi II. 8vo. 16*s.*

ANNOTATIONES AD ÆSCHYLUM G. Dindorfii.

Tomi II. 8vo. 11*s.*

ARISTOPHANIS COMOEDIAE

et Fragmenta, ex Recensione G. DINDORFII.

Tomus III. Partes II. 8vo. 19*s.*

ANNOTATIONES AD ARISTOPHANEM G. Dindorfii.

Tomus IV. Partes III. 8vo. 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

SCHOLIA GRAECA

In Aristophanis Comoedias. Cura G. DINDORFII.

Tomi II. 8vo. 14*s.*

EURIPIDIS TRAGOEDIAE

Et Fragmenta ex Recensione G. DINDORFII.

Tomi II. 8vo. 1*l.* 1*s.*

ANNOTATIONES AD EURIPIDEM G. Dindorfii.

8vo. 5*s.* 6*d.*

SOPHOCLIS TRAGOEDIAE

Et Deperditarum Fragmenta, ex Recensione G. DINDORFII.

8vo. 9*s.* 6*d.*

ANNOTATIONES AD SOPHOCLEM G. Dindorfii.

8vo. 8*s.* 6*d.*

SCHOLIA IN SOPHOCLEM, edidit P. Elmsley, A.M.

8vo. 8*s.* 6*d.*

METRA ÆSCHYLI SOPHOCLIS EURIPIDIS ET ARISTOPHANIS

Descripta a GULIELMO DINDORFIO. Accedit Chronologia Scenica.

---

4 Vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 2*s.*

DEMOSTHENES

ex recensione GULIELMI DINDORFII.

Tomi II. 15*s.*

HOMERI ILIAS

Cum brevi Annotatione C. G. HEYNII. Accedunt Scholia Minora.

8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*

HEYNII EXCURSUS IN HOMERI ILIADEM.

Tomi II. 8vo. 16*s.*

HOMERI ODYSSEA

Cum Scholiis et variis lectionibus. Accedunt Batrachomyomachia, Hymni, Fragmenta.

Tomi XI. 8vo. 3*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

ARISTOTELIS OPERA,

ex Recensione IMMANUELIS BEKKERI. Accedunt Indices Sylburgiani.

I. ARISTOTELIS ORGANON. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

II. ARISTOTELIS NATURALIS AUSCULTATIONIS Lib. VIII. De Cœlo, Lib. IV. De Generatione et Corruptione, Lib. II. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

III. ARISTOTELIS PARVA NATURALIA. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

IV. ARISTOTELIS HISTORIA ANIMALIUM. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

V. ARISTOTELIS DE PARTIBUS, &c. ANIMALIUM. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

VI. ARISTOTELIS OPUSCULA VARIA. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

VII. ARISTOTELIS PROBLEMATA. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

VIII. ARISTOTELIS METAPHYSICA. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

IX. ARISTOTELIS ETHICA, De Virtutibus et Vitiis. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

X. ARISTOTELIS DE REPUBLICA ET ŒCONOMICA. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

XI. ARISTOTELIS DE RHETORICA ET DE POETICA. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

ARISTOTELIS DE RHETORICA Lib. III.

Ad Fidem MSS. recogniti.

8vo. 11*s.* 6*d.*

ANIMADVERSIONES VARIORUM IN ARISTOTELIS DE RHETORICA Lib. III.

8vo. 7*s.*

RICCOBONI PARAPHRASIS IN RHETORICUM ARISTOTELIS.

8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

ANIMADVERSIONES IN ARISTOTELIS ETHICORUM NICOMACHEORUM Lib. X. Recognovit, Notis variorum suisque illustravit EDV. CARDWELL, S.T.P.

---

3 Vols. 4to. 6*l.* 6*s.*

PLOTINI OPERA OMNIA.

Porphyrii Liber de Vita Plotini. Cum Marsilii Ficini Commentariis.
Edidit F. CREUZER.

8vo. 11*s.*

PAROEMIOGRAPHI GRAECI,

Quorum Pars nunc primum ex Codicibus Manuscriptis vulgatur. Edidit T. GAISFORD, S.T.P., Gr. Ling. Prof. Reg.

8vo. 12*s.*

SCRIPTORES LATINI REI METRICAE.

Edidit T. GAISFORD, S.T.P., Gr. Ling. Prof. Reg.

4 Vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 10*s.*

STOBÆI FLORILEGIUM.

Ad MSS. Fidem emendavit et supplevit T. GAISFORD, S.T.P.

Tomi IV. 8vo. 2*l.* 2*s.*

ANECDOTA GRÆCA

E Codd. Manuscriptis BIBLIOTHECÆ REGIÆ PARISIENSIS
Edidit J. A. CRAMER, S.T.P., Aulæ Novi Hospitii Principalis.

Tomi IV. 8vo. 2*l.* 2*s.*

ANECDOTA GRÆCA OXONIENSIA.

Edidit J. A. CRAMER, S.T.P.

Tomi X. 8vo. 6*l.*

ORATORES ATTICI. Ex Recensione BEKKERI.

Accedunt Indices Græcitatis opera T. MITCHELL, A.M.

Tomus I. ANTIPHON, ANDOCIDES, ET LYSIAS. 12*s.*
II. ISOCRATES. 14*s.* 6*d.*
III. ISÆUS, ÆSCHINES, LYCURGUS, DINARCHUS. 14*s.* 6*d.*
IV. DEMOSTHENES, partes IV. 2*l.*

INDICES GRÆCITATIS IN ORATORES ATTICOS,
a T. MITCHELL, A.M. Tomi II. 1*l.* 6*s.*

INDEX GRÆCITATIS ISOCRATICÆ, a T. MITCHELL, A.M.
8vo. 13*s.*

Tomi II. 8vo. 1*l.* 6*s.*

INDEX GRÆCITATIS PLATONICÆ.

Accedunt Indices Historici et Geographici, confecit T. MITCHELL, A.M.

8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*

LECTIONES PLATONICÆ, E Membranis Bodleianis
eruit T. GAISFORD, S.T.P.
Accedunt R. PORSONI Annotationes ad Pausaniam.

8vo. 12*s.* 6*d.*

EURIPIDIS HERACLIDÆ ET MEDEA.

Ex Recensione P. ELMSLEY, qui Annotationes suas et aliorum selectas adjecit.

Tomi III. Folio. 5*l.* 15*s.*

CATALOGUS LIBRORUM IMPRESSORUM
BIBLIOTHECÆ BODLEIANÆ
IN ACADEMIA OXONIENSI.

*** *The following are not included in the general Catalogue of Printed Books.*

Folio. 10 Parts. 1*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

CATALOGUE OF BOOKS ADDED TO THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY
in each year, from 1825 to 1836.

Folio. 1*l.* 1*s.*

CATALOGUS DISSERTATIONUM ACADEMICARUM
quibus nuper aucta est Bibliotheca Bodleiana.

4to. 1*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

CATALOGUE OF BOOKS
bequeathed to the Bodleian Library by R. GOUGH, Esq.

Folio. 4*s.* 6*d.*

CATALOGUE OF EARLY ENGLISH POETRY
and other Miscellaneous Works illustrating the British Drama,
collected by EDMOND MALONE, Esq., and now preserved in the Bodleian Library.

3 Vols. Folio. 4*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*

CATALOGUS CODICUM MSS. ORIENTALIUM
BIBLIOTHECÆ BODLEIANÆ:
Pars Prima a J. URI.
Partis secundæ Volumen primum ab ALEXANDRO NICOLL, A.M.
Partis secundæ Volumen secundum, Arabicos complectens, ab E. B. PUSEY, S.T.B.

2 Parts. 4to. 14*s.*

CATALOGUS MSS. E. D. CLARKE,
qui in Bibliotheca Bodleiana adservantur. Pars Prior.
Inseruntur Scholia inedita in Platonem et in Carmina Gregorii Nazianzeni.
Pars Posterior MSS. Orientalium ed. A. NICOLL, A.M.

4to. 8*s.* 6d.

CATALOGUS CODICUM MSS. ET IMPRESSORUM
Cum Notis MSS. olim D'ORVILLIANORUM, qui in Bibliotheca Bodleiana adservantur.

4to. 4*s.* 6*d.*

CATALOGUS MSS. BOREALIUM PRÆCIPUE ISLANDICÆ
ORIGINIS, qui nunc in Bibliotheca Bodleiana adservantur.
Auctore FINNO MAGNO ISLANDO.

4to. 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

A CATALOGUE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS
bequeathed to the University of Oxford by ELIAS ASHMOLE, Esq., M.D., &c.
By W. H. BLACK.

Princeton Theological Seminary Libraries
1 1012 01196 7975

DATE DUE
FEB 05
THE LIBRARY STORE #47-0207